

SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS

VOLUME XXIV
1941



SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS

FOUNDED 1912.

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Subscriptions and notifications of change of address, should be addressed to the Hon. Treasurer, Finance Department, Khartoum.

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The annual subscription, payable in advance, is P.T. 50 or 10s. 6d.
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Cheques and Postal Orders should be made payable to the "Hon. Treasurer, *Sudan Notes and Records*."

Payment can most conveniently be made by a Banker's Order, and a form is enclosed with each issue.

Back numbers are obtainable at the following places:—

Editorial Secretary, Civil Secretary Office, Khartoum.

The Sudan Government London Office, Wellington House,
Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.1.

The Sudan Bookshop, Khartoum.

C.P. 111
C.P. 111 21901

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

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1. Further apologies are tendered, especially to subscribers in England, for the late appearance of this volume and for our failure to produce it in two parts. The war is perhaps a hackneyed excuse but none the less it has a delaying effect on all non-essential civil activities, amongst which it is to be feared the production of a periodical must be numbered. Contributors, reviewers, printers and proof readers all have pressing claims upon their time and imperceptibly publication day recedes further and further.

2. Volume XXV will probably be issued in instalments as material becomes available. Contributors whose articles require illustration should submit them as early as possible in the year. It is improbable that plates will be included in the first number.

3. Readers of the review of M. Douin's *Histoire du règne du Khédive Ismail* in Part I of Volume XXIII will be interested to know that the third part of M. Douin's Third Volume is nearly ready for the printer. It will contain 1,200 pages and is entirely devoted to a study of the exploration and administration of General Gordon in Equatoria. It is understood that access to the archives of the Abdin Palace and of Colonel Moffitt has thrown an entirely new light on this period.

Volume IV will cover events in Abyssinia, followed by the history of Gordon's first term of office as Governor-General.

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THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

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M. E. C. Pumphrey.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

This article and the succeeding article by P. P. Howell were submitted independently and the authors very kindly agreed to re-write them to avoid overlapping. The articles should be read in conjunction and Mr. Howell in particular has assumed a knowledge in his readers of Mr. Pumphrey's notes and explanations.

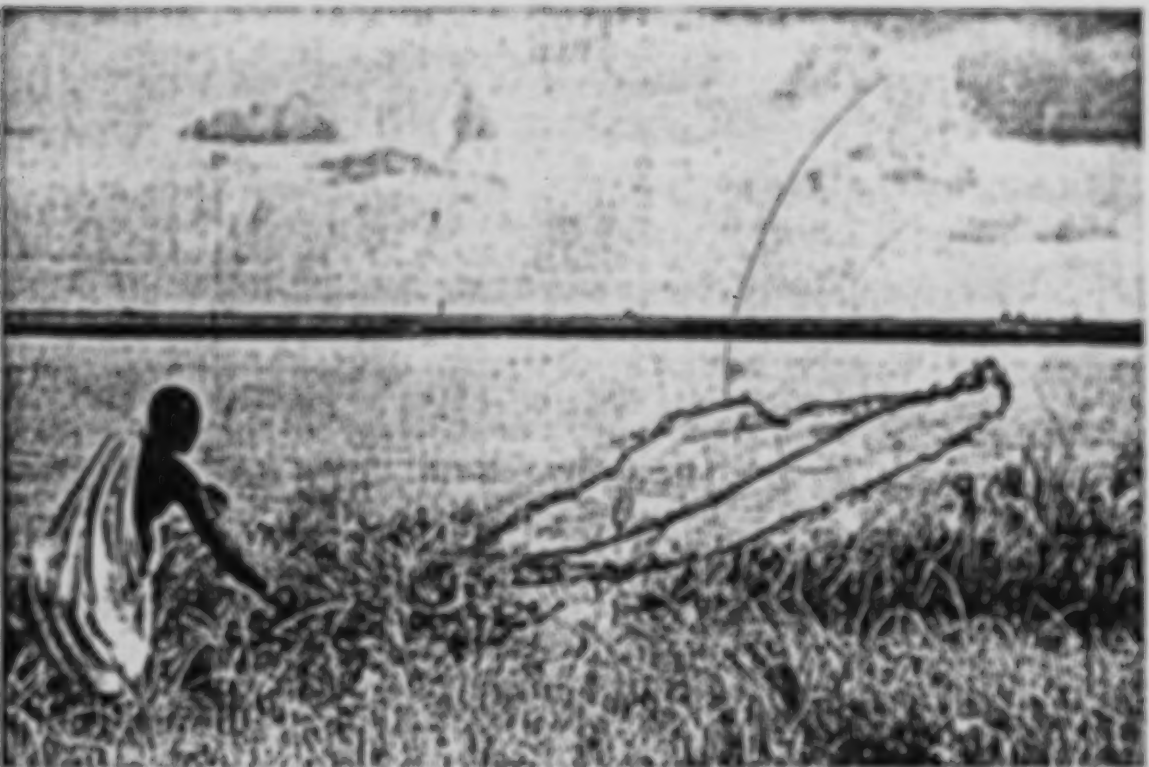
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Antarctic Islands and Islands

21
 22
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Antarctic Islands

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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

Vol. XXV.

Part 2a b.

1941

THE SHILLUK TRIBE.

By M. R. C. Pamphrey.

Orthographical Note.

Shilluk words, other than names of places and proper names, are printed in italics. In any Shilluk word the sound *CH* is represented by *C*; words like *Faduk* which are familiar in that form are left unaltered. 104
174

There is a Shilluk consonant *ay* pronounced as in the French *lige*. This has been written *ay* wherever it occurs elsewhere than at the end of a word, where it is written *â*. Thus *Nyikang* and *Gallaâ* appear, although the first consonant of the former is the same as the last of the latter. This has been done to avoid the confusion which *Gallaay* would otherwise cause to the reader unacquainted with Shilluk names. (M.E.C.P.)

CHAPTER I.

OUTLINE OF SHILLUK HISTORY.

"Shilluk" is probably the Arabic version of *Collu*, which is how the Shilluk describe themselves. The singular of *Collu* is *Oulu*, a word obviously connected with *Acholi*, the tribe in Equatoria with whom the Shilluk admit a common origin and to whose language the Shilluk tongue is similar. 105
175

Shilluk tradition describing the origin of the tribe says that *Nyikang*, the Shilluk culture-hero, was one of the sons of *Okwa*, a King of a country "far to the south beside a great lake." *Okwa* was succeeded by a brother of *Nyikang*, *Duwali*, and *Nyikang* himself, angry at his failure to become king, led away a party of adherents in a north-westerly direction to a place near *Wau* on the *Rahr el Ghazal* called by the Shilluk *Poile Tharo*. Here he married a daughter of *Dimo*, the local chief, and stayed there for some years. Then *Nyikang* 176

173 and Dingo quarrelled because the latter insisted on Nyikang's child being disinterred to recover a valuable bead it had swallowed. Nyikang consequently again migrated. With a following of only six families he sailed down the Bahr el Ghazal and landed some twenty miles west of Tonga at the site of the present village of Arietagwik.

The party advanced eastwards along the left bank to Nyiloul where Nyikang made his headquarters. The country west of the site of Malakal was then uninhabited but they found the Anouk near the Sobat Mouth. It was agreed that the Shilluk should confine themselves to the west bank of the Nile and leave the Anouk in possession of the Sobat and the east bank. There was then no sign of the Nuer on the Zawal Island.

Nyikang made his headquarters at Nyiloul and built his own village at Dedign.¹ Since his son Duk made his village nearby at Falo it would appear that several decades passed before the Shilluk attempted to occupy country to the north of the Sobat Mouth. When they did so they were defeated, in a battle fought near the present village of Wan, by a red people, then in possession, whom the Shilluk describe as *Fuā*.²

Exactly who these *Fuā* were is uncertain, as also is the correctness of the Shilluk tradition that after much fighting they were expelled from their last stronghold at Demoth³ and driven over the river into the Mahan country north-east of Melut. It seems more probable, in view of the smallness of Nyikang's party, that they came into contact and fought with an outlying colony of the Fung Kingdom, some of whom withdrew north-eastwards while the remnant fused with the immigrants and came in time to call themselves Collo too. At the same time the Collo army seems to have been reinforced by the enlistment of drafts of blacks, probably Nuba, who were called, somewhat contemptuously and to distinguish them from the Collo and the *Fuā*

[114] 1. On the basis of reckoning 13 years to a reign and allowing about thirty to a generation the date of Nyikang's arrival can be estimated at about 1550. Hadeney (Die Afdilak) however thinks that Oualo was the first non-legendary king and estimates his date, on the same system of reckoning, at about 1600-1650.

[174] 2. Is the settlement of Fanyidoul Pat.

3. Is the course of this battle the Sacred Stag of Nyikang was captured, and the Shilluk say that this stag Karon is still in the *Fuā* country.

[115] 4. A village some 15 miles north of Kaduk where traces of earthworks can still be seen.

THE SHILLUK TRIBES

3

remnant, *deries* along⁵. These blacks in time also became *Colle* and 173
the clan of Nyikang, originally the *Colle* *par excellence*, became known
as *Kwar Ruk* in distinction from the remainder.

Shortly after his defeat at the battle of Waa, Nyikang had dis-
appeared in a whirl-wind and his son Dak succeeded him as *Ruk*.
Dak was a great warrior and after expelling the *Fak* ruled the country
as far north as the latitude of El Daein. In this he met little opposition.
The main powers then existing were the Kingdom of Toga to the
west and that of the Fong to the east, and the Shilluk seemed to have
dominated the White Nile until about then. The northern boundary
of the Shilluk country was, however, fixed by Dak at the site of the
village of Twarikit (opposite Jebel Ahmed Agna), the country beyond
being considered (as it is to this day described) as "riding country."⁶

The period from Dak's campaigns to the arrival of the Arab slave
trader El Fiki Mohammed Khair in the reign of *Ruk Kwadlikar*
(approximately 1850) is obscure. There are accounts of fighting with
the Anuk; the Dinka appear to have arrived from the south-west
in the reign of *Ruk Tugo* (about 1750) and the Nuer to have reached
Zeraf Island a little later. When the first *Madir* of Fethada⁷ took 175
up his position at Kodok in 1867 *Ruk Kwadlikar* was reigning and the
distribution of neighbouring tribes was approximately as it is to-day.

Sir Samuel Baker describes how he caught this *Madir* in the 175
scandalous act of arresting Shilluk for non-payment of taxes (a practice
not unknown to-day) and also how he interviewed the ex-*Ruk*
Kwadlikar who had by then been deposed by the *Madir* in favour of 176
the Turkish puppet *Ajang Nyidluk*. At this period there was serious
civil war between the northern half of the kingdom, supporting the
usurper *Ajang* and the Government, and the southern half, supporting
the deposed *Kwadlikar*. Finally after *Kwadlikar* had for many years

5. This may be translated "black institutions."

6. *Kwar* is a collective word meaning "descendants." Thus *Kwar Owar* means
the descendants of Owar and *Kwar Ruk* means the descendants of the (original) *Ruk*,
that is Nyikang.

7. "pala mazo."

8. Ali Bey Kord,

175
64
144
cluded capture the Madir lured him into his encampment at Lal and took him to Kodok where he ultimately died a prisoner.

Rak Ajang fell from favour over suspected complicity in the killing of some government troops engaged in an attempt to collect rifles from the tribe, and was hanged at Kodok. Thereafter the Madir, Yusuf Bey, decided to govern the tribe without a Rak and local chiefs were accordingly appointed throughout the country. This policy was evidently unsuccessful and in October 1873 Remulo Goni, who happened to be passing in a steamer, heard from the Madir that the garrison at Kaka, which consisted then of some 24 soldiers with one cannon, was being besieged by the tribe. He consented to take a relief party there. This party, 140 strong, landed at Kaka and was ambushed and killed almost to a man, Goni being a spectator from the steamer.

This event caused the recall of Ali Bey Kurdi to Fashoda. He hanged many of the recently appointed chiefs and appointed as Rak Kwickum a son of Kwadibay. Rashid Bey relieved Ali Bey Kurdi in about 1880.

In 1881 the Mahdi moved to Jebel Gadir. Rashid Bey, apparently on his own initiative, took a force variously estimated from 400 to 1,000 strong which included Rak Kwickum and marched by an inland route to Jebel Gadir in the hope of capturing the Mahdi. Almost the entire force was killed, including the Madir and Kwickum.

Kodok then became one of the narrowed garrisons. A certain Jak Akor^a succeeded Kwickum, but neither he nor the remaining vestiges of Government had much control over the tribe. Yor Akor (father of the present Rak Fafiti and brother of Jak) went to El Obeid to pay respects to the Mahdi and got himself appointed Rak. Later, when the garrison left Kodok, Yor installed himself at Fashoda.

However the tribe was not to be left long in peace. During the famine in Omdurman the Emir Abbas Sami came in the S.S. Safie with a large body of Ta'ala to feed off the country. Rak Yor did not co-operate in this scheme to the Emir's satisfaction and the following year Zeki Tummali, who had been campaigning in Abyssinia, was

^a Jak was never officially Rak and was superseded by his brother Yor about 1888.

THE SHILLUK TRIBES

3

ordered to punish this rebelliousness. This he did with some effect. He set up a well-defended encampment at Fadiang (about six miles south of Kodok) and thence made repeated raids on the tribe. The Shilluk fled across the river and the Emir laid waste the whole country, committing finally in avenging Ruk Yar whom he had imprisoned at Fadiang. [115] [64]

Kar Nyidluk, a brother of the puppet King Ajang, had joined the forces of Zeki Tummel and when the latter left for Omdurman he took Kar to pay homage to the Khalifa Abdallahi. No sooner had Kar gone than Akol, another of Kwadikar sons, arose as a pretender in the south, and was barely prevented from effecting his entry into Fashoda by the defeat of his supporters at the hands of a force comprising all the outlaws from Darfur to Bahr at the battle of Kwem. This attempt was punished by Kar on his return from Omdurman at the battle of Dettin where Akol's supporters were defeated and Akol himself forced to retire to Abujap on the Sobat. Kar was Ruk at the time of Marchand's arrival at Kodok, but was deposed by the present Government in 1903 and replaced by Akol's brother Fafiti. Fafiti was probably done to death in the traditional manner, by being suffocated by some of his wives, and Fafiti, son of Yar Akol, was appointed. It is said that in this election the Mamar of Kodok was partial and that he contrived the appointment against the wishes of the tribe. This, if in any way true, has been much exaggerated. There was normal rivalry between Cati, son of Ajang, and Fafiti. Ajang had been a puppet of the Turkish Government and, having never been ceremonially installed in Fashoda, had never really been Ruk. Cati's claim was therefore poor. Fafiti was supported by Bad Ayuel, Chief of Gollhak, and Cati by Ajang Agwet, Chief of Dehale. The Chiefs of Gollhak and Dehale are ex officio primarily responsible for electing the new Ruk and as these two functionaries differed feeling was naturally high. The southern half of the country were antagonized by Fafiti's appointment and their allegiance to him accordingly remains to this day less sincere.

In 1932, largely owing to famine, Fafiti's prestige sank low and Cati's cousin, Nyawello Kar, conspired to kill him. The arrest and exile of Nyawello improved Fafiti's position and his prestige has probably grown in the last nine years. [69]

CHAPTER II. SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

INTRODUCTION.

[36]
[10]
[20]
[40] Unlike their neighbours the Dinka and the Nuer the Shilluk have become entirely sedentary. They have a long river frontage in proportion to the population and there is therefore no necessity for an annual migration for summer grazing. In the summer the cattle are taken across to islands and the people accompanying them build temporary cattle camps, but in no case is a village periodically entirely deserted.

[10]
[60]
[60] Thus the Shilluk lack what for example the Dinka Dinka living opposite them possess, namely an annual gathering round in clan organisation. The Dinka Dinka village organisation disintegrates in the summer and the clans to a large extent reform for summer grazing. No such periodical reformation takes place with the Shilluk and consequently the clan organisation is more marked by the growth of territorial administrative units. Had the territorial unit, superimposed by years of the sedentary habit, obliterated completely the clan-organisation the administration of the tribe would be relatively simple. But Shilluk conservatism causes them to remain profoundly clan-conscious, and if to-day after some four hundred years of the sedentary state the tribe were for some reason to revert to nomadic habits there is no doubt that the clans would instantly reform.

[60]
[10]
[70] The territorial system has evolved as the result of the grouping together of neighbouring hamlets, largely for purposes of defence against other groups, into what will be termed "settlements."

THE CLAN (KWAR).

[60] Kwär (meaning literally "descendants"), followed by the name of the ancestor in question, is the Shilluk equivalent of clan. Kwär Okel designates all patrilineal descendants of Okel. Often the ancestor is mythical. There may be some hundred recognised clans in the tribe. But though every one knows to which clan he belongs, and although the clan entire continues to be an exogamous unit, it has ceased to possess for practical purposes any corporate unity. It

THE SHILLUK TRIBE

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common to this as such. The clans have in fact disintegrated over the face of the country, so that not only will clan "A" be distributed over several settlements, but one settlement will contain detachments of several clans. A detachment of clan within a settlement has been termed a "lineage" by Mr. Howell and will be so termed in this note. [614] [615]

The Settlement (Poon).

The word *poon* is as elastic as the English "home" or the Arabic "dar." It encompasses the entire Shilluk country, a settlement or a group of settlements. Properly however it designates the settlement, which is a group of villages, containing several lineages, agglomerated for purposes of mutual defence and owing allegiance to a common chief. The settlement is the basic element in the indigenous tribal structure. [621] [612]

The country is divided into some hundred settlements, varying in size from *Kadi* which contains more than five adult males to others containing less than 100. Geographically they are divided by lines approximately at right angles to the river. [623] [612]

Each settlement contains, in microcosm, the administrative distribution of the tribe. For the settlement, which appears at first to be a purely territorial unit, is really a collection of different lineages. These lineages, added together by threat of war, are apt to be dissident in the present time of comparative peace and although they owe allegiance to their common chief they sometimes feel and pay more to the lineage head within the settlement. There is, in fact, in the settlement, as in the whole tribe, a conflict between the loyalties due to the territorial unit and those due to the submerged but ever existing clan. [613] [621] [612]

It is said that Nyikang originally granted each settlement to a clan. The descendants of the original grantees, if they survive, are considered the owners of the soil and are termed *dyil*, to distinguish them from subsequently immigrating lineages, described as *wak*. Naturally the lineage of the original grantees is often extinct, in which case the next senior lineage in the settlement becomes *dyil*. In theory the *dyil* [613] [614] [615] [616] [617] [618] [619] [620] [621] [622] [623] [624] [625] [626] [627] [628] [629] [630] [631] [632] [633] [634] [635] [636] [637] [638] [639] [640] [641] [642] [643] [644] [645] [646] [647] [648] [649] [650] [651] [652] [653] [654] [655] [656] [657] [658] [659] [660] [661] [662] [663] [664] [665] [666] [667] [668] [669] [670] [671] [672] [673] [674] [675] [676] [677] [678] [679] [680] [681] [682] [683] [684] [685] [686] [687] [688] [689] [690] [691] [692] [693] [694] [695] [696] [697] [698] [699] [700] [701] [702] [703] [704] [705] [706] [707] [708] [709] [710] [711] [712] [713] [714] [715] [716] [717] [718] [719] [720] [721] [722] [723] [724] [725] [726] [727] [728] [729] [730] [731] [732] [733] [734] [735] [736] [737] [738] [739] [740] [741] [742] [743] [744] [745] [746] [747] [748] [749] [750] [751] [752] [753] [754] [755] [756] [757] [758] [759] [760] [761] [762] [763] [764] [765] [766] [767] [768] [769] [770] [771] [772] [773] [774] [775] [776] [777] [778] [779] [780] [781] [782] [783] [784] [785] [786] [787] [788] [789] [790] [791] [792] [793] [794] [795] [796] [797] [798] [799] [800] [801] [802] [803] [804] [805] [806] [807] [808] [809] [810] [811] [812] [813] [814] [815] [816] [817] [818] [819] [820] [821] [822] [823] [824] [825] [826] [827] [828] [829] [830] [831] [832] [833] [834] [835] [836] [837] [838] [839] [840] [841] [842] [843] [844] [845] [846] [847] [848] [849] [850] [851] [852] [853] [854] [855] [856] [857] [858] [859] [860] [861] [862] [863] [864] [865] [866] [867] [868] [869] [870] [871] [872] [873] [874] [875] [876] [877] [878] [879] [880] [881] [882] [883] [884] [885] [886] [887] [888] [889] [890] [891] [892] [893] [894] [895] [896] [897] [898] [899] [900] [901] [902] [903] [904] [905] [906] [907] [908] [909] [910] [911] [912] [913] [914] [915] [916] [917] [918] [919] [920] [921] [922] [923] [924] [925] [926] [927] [928] [929] [930] [931] [932] [933] [934] [935] [936] [937] [938] [939] [940] [941] [942] [943] [944] [945] [946] [947] [948] [949] [950] [951] [952] [953] [954] [955] [956] [957] [958] [959] [960] [961] [962] [963] [964] [965] [966] [967] [968] [969] [970] [971] [972] [973] [974] [975] [976] [977] [978] [979] [980] [981] [982] [983] [984] [985] [986] [987] [988] [989] [990] [991] [992] [993] [994] [995] [996] [997] [998] [999] [1000]

SS4 Lineage should provide the chief. Expediency, however, requires
 613 that the chieftainship shall follow local strength, or in other words
 621 local numerical superiority. Thus, with a certain inevitable lag,
 622 the lineage which is most numerous within the settlement tends to
 dispossess the *dyd* lineage of the chieftainship²⁰ of the settlement.
 Nevertheless the *dyd* lineage, even when dispossessed of the chieftain-
 ship, retains a certain local prestige as owners of the soil and its opinion
 always carries extra weight in debate. Some settlements have an
 interesting arrangement whereby the chieftainship goes to two or three
 lineages in turn (e.g., Odang Fanyikang).

261 Within the settlement each lineage has its original hamlet (*jaa*
 603 *daang*²¹ subservient to which are the subsequently formed hamlets
 621 of that lineage within the settlement. The chief of the *jaa daang*
 621 (i.e., the lineage head within the settlement) represents his lineage in
 the politics and administration of the settlement. The hamlets of
 one lineage are not necessarily grouped together in the settlement.

613 With a strong settlement chief the lineage loyalties are largely
 621 subsumed in the *esprit de corps* of the settlement. Conversely when
 622 the chief is personally weak or belongs to a lineage which is numerically
 small the latent lineage loyalty raises its head and the administration
 of the settlement suffers accordingly.

THE HAMLET AND THE HOMESTEAD.

102 Unlike the settlement each hamlet (*jaa*) is a homogeneous unit
 621 in the sense that a hamlet contains only people of the same lineage.
 Some hamlets are very small, consisting of a single homestead, while
 others may contain fifty. In any case the hamlet is no more than an
 enlarged family group. The homesteads are arranged in roughly

20. The *lee* (meaning aboriginal) is the basis of chieftaincy. The name has been
 transferred to the strip of cloth which each chief wears, usually from the back, as his
 appointment.

21. *Jaa* = hamlet. This word assumes the forms:

jaa when followed by a qualifying adjective.

ja when followed by a positive.

Its plural is *nyar*.

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The homesteads are arranged in roughly

horse-shoe shape around an open space in which are tethered the sheep and cattle of the hamlet. Within this space is usually a very large hut (paal) used for animals in the rains and throughout the year as a guest-house and general village club. There is also usually a circular dried hut, with no surrounding fence, known as the gon, which is used as a dormitory by the unmarried men. In this hut are put the skins of the cattle dung with which the young men cover themselves at night for warmth and protection from flies. Some villages have a tree in the central circle, but more often there is a complete and inalienable absence of shade.

The homestead (gal) consists of two huts between which is an area enclosed by a fence of dura stalks or rough grass matting. The family group inhabiting the homestead is called also (presumably by transference) gal, and it is in this latter sense that the word gal will be used in this note.

In this sense gal is the smallest (though important) social unit in the tribe. An unmarried man does not own a homestead. All unmarried persons live in the homestead and adhere to the gal of their father. If their father is dead they adhere to the gal of their eldest married brother or, if they have none, to their deceased father's (married) brother. The owner of the homestead to which they adhere is the leader of their gal, and as such is responsible for the behaviour of its members. This vicarious responsibility on the part of the gal leader is a corollary to the principles of the ownership of cattle (and sheep). The cattle of the gal are owned and disposed of by the gal leader alone, and since the remedy for a wrong is a payment of cattle it follows that he and not the actual malefactor is held responsible. The position resembles that of the Roman family where the paterfamilias alone is *sui juris*, all others being *alieni juris*. The Shilluk *filius familias*, however, becomes *sui-juris* on marriage which the Roman son did not. The vicarious responsibility of the gal leader has the convenient aspect that the gal leader is more easily found by the arm of the law than the actual malefactor because of the fact that he owns a homestead.

CHAPTER III.

THE ELEMENTS OF SHILLUK SOCIETY.

545 The four elements existing to-day in the tribe are *Kwar Rakh*,
Qwar, *Colla* and *Rang Rakh*. The first two together comprise all the
 political descendants of Nyikang, the last two the subject body of
 the tribe. There is no outward difference between the members of
 these four strata of society either in physique or apparel, and although
 the *Kwar Rakh*, and less so the *Qwar*, are usually treated with a certain
 outward deference by the *Colla*, little of the original practical difference
 between conquerors and conquered now survives. Numerically the
Colla vastly predominate. The *Kwar Rakh* are simply an enlarged
 clan and amount for perhaps a fifth part of the tribe²². The *Rang*
Rakh are perhaps a little more numerous than the *Kwar Rakh*, and the
Qwar, who are as will later be seen a more segment of the *Kwar Rakh*,
 are numerically negligible.

THE KWAR RAKH.

546 The *Kwar Rakh*, like any other clan, is diffused over the country.
 614 It has no political authority as such but exists as a disunited arbitrar-
 614 rary, physically indistinguishable from its *Colla* neighbours, sometimes
 614 providing the settlement chief, but more often not. The Shilluk
 (625) thus being cognate the *Kwar Rakh* cannot intermarry. Accordingly,
 with the exception of the *Rakh's* daughters who cannot marry at all,
 they intermarry with the *Colla* without restraint. Most, though not
 all of the *Rakh's* wives are *Colla*.

554 Within the *Kwar Rakh* there are four higher titles. These are
 546 *Rakh* for the reigning king (who must be a son of a previous *Rakh*),
 546 *Nyirakh* for the son (or daughter) of a *Rakh* (reigning or dead), *Nyirakh*
 614 (or *Nyiririrakh*) for a son of a *Nyirakh* and *Kwar Nyirakh* (slided into
 614 *Kwawirirakh*) for a grandson of a *Nyirakh*. Strictly every member of
 the *Kwar Rakh* has a claim to the title *Kwawirirakh*, but in fact its use
 is restricted to the grandson of a *Nyirakh* and any remoter descendant
 who has achieved some political eminence.

22. This is necessarily a very rough estimate.

THE HILLMAN STORY

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With the conception of *Kash*, these titles must always be prefixed to the name of the person addressed. Alternatively the title alone may be used.

The *Kash* *Kash* is really bigger than any other clan. The reasons for its abnormal growth are two, namely their comparatively great wealth with the consequent tendency to marry more wives, and the ensuing process of dissemination whereby the *Kash* *Kash* have been gradually planted out and have taken root in every part of the Shilluk kingdom. It is this latter process which will now be described.

The *Kash* has many wives,¹² most of whom live with him at *Fadula*. When one is about to give birth she goes to her own village where the *Nyiruk*¹³ is born. As soon as he is weaned he is "planted out"¹⁴ into the charge of some reputable *Collo* chief¹⁵ who becomes responsible for his upbringing. In the hands of his adoption the *Nyiruk* grows up and while small tends the sheep and cattle and plays with the village boys as an equal. When he reaches the age of marriage he builds a separate village nearby which will be known as *Fa Nyiruk* and will be the village of the *Nyiruk*'s descendants. As the descendants of the *Nyiruk* increase this original *Fa Nyiruk* will put forth offshoot villages in the immediate neighbourhood, and thus we see the process whereby the *Kash* *Kash* is planted out takes root and grows in an area owned by a *Collo* lineage. It is by this continually repeated process that the *Kash* *Kash* have been and continue to be disseminated throughout the country. Each branch of the *Kash* *Kash*, once planted, grows alongside the local *Collo* lineage and tends to eclipse it. Rivalry results, and often the *Kash* *Kash* claim to such numerical superiority that they oust the *Collo* lineage from the chieftainship, whereupon the latter either move elsewhere

12. The wife of a *Kash* is known as *hark*.

13. It is here assumed that the child is male, though *nyiruk* covers either sex. If female she will be similarly planted out but of course she will found no lineage.

14. *piit* (and also for planting out seedlings in a flower bed).

15. The child entrusted will often be the *hark*'s brother. In any case he cannot claim this trust which will bring him certain temporary benefits such as milk cows for the *Nyiruk*'s nurture but which will probably result eventually in his descendants being made subservient to the lineage of the *Nyiruk*.

546 as service as a subject element in what was originally their own area.
547 Queen Abukuk¹⁷ is said to have prophesied that one day the *Kwar Ruk*
548 Ruk would eat up the *Collo*. This process can certainly be seen
549 occurring in some localities. For example in the areas of Detwek and
[17] Atimfent the *Kwar Ruk* are already probably more numerous than
the *Collo*. The process, however, is probably not conscious and there
is no marked split in camps between different branches of the *Kwar*
Ruk. There are great areas which contain no *Kwar Ruk* and others¹⁸
where the *Kwar Ruk*, though present, remain subject to the indigenous
Collo lineage. Though there is everywhere local rivalry the grave
view taken by Queen Abukuk is probably unjustified.

550 The other reason for the inordinate growth of the *Kwar Ruk*
551 is their great wealth. Until the Turkish Government began its not
552 very successful attempts at governing the Shilluk with the assistance
553 of their *Ruks* the latter were extremely rich in cattle. They acquired
554 these largely in the following way. Whenever one settlement waged
555 expeditious war upon another or refused repeatedly to obey his order,
the *Ruk* would raise as a "royal levy" the adjacent settlements,
who would go and drive off the malefactor's cattle and burn their
villages. The strength of the levy would vary with the readily calcul-
able strength of the opposition but a good margin of safety would be
allowed to ensure that the levy would win. It is said that such levies
were in fact seldom resisted, the victims being glad to save their skins
at the cost of most of their cattle. The participants in the levy got
a percentage of the cattle taken but the majority went to the *Ruk*.

Tax Oases.

556 -Owe is a term used to describe any lineage of the *Kwar Ruk*
557 which has been degraded, by act of the *Ruk*, to *Collo* rank. Such are
558 described by the Shilluk as being " *Kwar Ruk* really, but like *Collo*."
Numerically they are inconsiderable, but their origin and status are of

17. A Nyabak who ruled the Shilluk country from Detwek is about 1850.

18. e.g., Awajuk.

19. That of *Ruk*.

THE SHILLAK TRIBE

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interest. They owe their origin, so it is said, to a battle fought at Detang in the time of Ruk Odak against the Anauk in which the Shillak were worsted. In view of this reverse it was decided at a council of war that contrary to custom the Ruk's sons should all join in the fight on the following day. Accordingly all went across the river to fight except one called Dewadh, and all who went were killed. This left a great many grandsons of Odak who, since only the son of a Ruk may be appointed, could never become Ruk. Dewadh, the sole surviving Nyiruk, in due course became Ruk and forthwith degraded the lineage of all the slain Nyiruks and made them "as Coko." In this way the Kwar Ruk was restricted to the descendants of Dewadh. The descendants of the other sons of Odak were dubbed "Ovra," the meaning of which is "sons of a crowd of girls."

It is said that the Ruk has always possessed and still possesses the privilege of proving the royal tree by this process of cutting branches relatively distant from his own. Nevertheless it appears not to have been used except by Ruk Dewadh on this occasion.²⁰ Ruk Fadlet tried to degrade the lineage of Ruk Nyadwai (a prolific monarch whose descendants form an unwieldy branch of the family tree) but was unsuccessful. Had he succeeded they would also now be Ovra.

Apparently degradation of a lineage was effected in the following way. Its representatives were summoned and a sprig of thorn having been stuck into the ground the Ruk speared a bull and pulled the thorn out. By this act the lineage ceased to be Kwar Ruk. Hence comes the expression "they have no thorn"²¹ which is often used to describe the Ovra.

The Ovra play the part of masters of ceremonies at the induction into Fashoda of a newly appointed Ruk and have held for at least seven generations the important chiefship of Tonga. For the purposes of

20. It seems possible that in truth the old Ruk used this device frequently and that the present Ovra are not really all sons of Dewadh but are various lineages at one time or another so degraded. This is conjecture, but no member of the Ovra will ever say which is the particular side of Dewadh from whom he is descended. They pass over the subject evasively, and it is unusual for a Shillak to be either reticent or vague about his ancestry.

21. *long kadi yi gro.*

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565 the rules of company the Orow are considered as a Cello clan and can
614 intermarry with the Kwar Rask as well as with any Cello clan other
644 than their own. The Rask always has some Orow women among
[643] his wives and it is traditionally they who smother him when his powers
of procreation are falling.

THE CELLO.

566 The Cello comprise the aggregate of subject clans whose various
origins are for the most part obscure. A few trace their descent from
those who accompanied Nyikang from the neighbourhood of Waa.¹⁰
Others, also few in number, purport to be descendant from Nyikang's
collateral relatives.¹¹ Many claim a mythical origin. Others¹² are
avowedly accretions, others¹³ again being¹⁴ descendants of the prior
inhabitants of the country.

RANG RETH.

565 It has already been described how the Rask used to keep order
644 in the tribe and how they enriched themselves in the process. With
this wealth of cattle they maintained what was an important part of
their pomp and executive, namely a large body of retainers known as
Rang Reth. These were recruited in various ways. Originally the
[643] main source was captive enemies. In later and more peaceful times
[644] they were recruited by voluntary enlistment of those who found
themselves in poor circumstances and unable to raise the necessary
cattle to marry. Such persons, from the moment they became Rang
Reth, severed all connexion with their own clan and became the
Rask's men, pledged to assist him in various ways such as building,
tending animals and odd executive duties and receiving in return cattle
with which to marry. One method of recruiting Rang Reth, which is
[645] of great interest in that it shows that there was an idea of certain wrongs

10. e.g., Kwar Abogo, Kwar Mad, Kwar Nyilong and Kwar Ojel.

11. e.g., Kwar Jur, Kwar Othoo and Kwar Ohol.

12. e.g., Kwar Jung (who were originally Dinka).

13. e.g., Kwar Oman (of Ogod).

THE SHILLUK TRIBE

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being crimes against the community, was that in cases of homicide the murderer (or his brother if the murderer was uncaptured) was compelled to become a *Bang Reth*. 565
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Relations between a *Reth* and his retainers were friendly, nor does the treatment of those who were enslaved as a punishment appear to have differed from that of those voluntarily enlisted. The custom was for the retainers of each *Reth* to make a village for themselves near Fashoda. There they would live until the *Reth* died. The *Reth's* body would then be taken to this village and sealed up in a house where it would remain until entirely decomposed. Only then would the bones be removed by his retainers and buried in his original village. Some of the dead *Reth's* retainers would then move to the village where he was buried and their descendants would there remain with the perpetual obligation of tending his shrine. Others would remain at their village near Fashoda and would have no further obligations to the memory of their dead patron except that they and their descendants would for ever be known as "*Bang Reth Kwadhker*" or "*Bang Reth Nyakwac*" or as the case might be. [643]
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The retainers of a particular *Reth*, having severed connexion with their own clan, became a fictitious clan in themselves. As such they cannot intermarry, though there may be no relationship of blood. Nor could a *Reth* marry a daughter or sister of one of his retainers. A *Reth* would address the daughter of a retainer as *kwara* (my granddaughter) which well indicates the relationship subsisting between them. 565
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Under the present regime, partly because the Government frowned upon the practice and partly because the *Reths* are now deprived of their previous source of wealth, the *Reth* has none of these traditional retainers. To-day the *Bang Reth* comprise the descendants of retainers of previous *Reths*. In some cases they have removed themselves to a new locality but in any case they remain for ever *Bang Reth* "A" or *Bang Reth* "B" (in accordance with the name of the *Reth* their ancestors served) and never rejoin their original clan. [177]
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When a *Nyirath* was planted out the *Reth* used to send to live with him a few of his own retainers who became *Bang Nyirath* and

565 who served the *Nyireth* in his life upon terms analogous to those under
 644 which *Bang Reth* served the *Reth*. After the *Nyireth's* death the
 [614] *Bang Nyireth* also continued as a fictitious clan. Consequently
 beside a branch of the *Kwar Reth* are usually found *Bang Nyireth*
 who are the descendants of the retainers of the *Nyireth* who is the head
 of that lineage of the *Kwar Reth*.

The *Bang Reth*, whether *Bang Reth* or *Bang Nyireth*, are by
 [554] origin *Collo*. Yet their status is slightly inferior to that of the "free"
Collo and they have therefore been treated as a separate element in
 this note. The inferiority of their status springs from the fact that
 they do not belong of right to the area in which they live. They are
 therefore newcomers, and priority of occupation of land is of great
 importance to the Shilluk.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS AND ORGANISATION.

635 THE PROVINCES OF LUAK AND GER AND THE OLD ORDER.

[612] The settlement has already been described as the basic element
 in the tribal structure. The settlement chiefs, with few exceptions,
 are appointed by the *Reth* and this has always been the case. Between
 the *Reth* and the settlement chiefs there were, before Turkish inter-
 ference, four high chiefs. The country was then divided into two
 provinces, Luak in the south and Ger in the north, which were alterna-
 tively called *Gol Nyihak* and *Gol Dhiang* respectively²⁶. The bound-

173 ²⁶. The terms *Gol Nyihak* and *Gol Dhiang* are a bit archaic and are only heard on
 ceremonial occasions such as the rebuilding of Fashoda. The origin of the name *Gol*
Nyihak is clearly the tradition that the southern half of the kingdom was settled by
Nyihak himself, coupled with the fact that it contains his great shrine at Nyihal. As
 to the origin of "*Gol Dhiang*" (meaning literally the *Gol* of the Cow) I am indebted to
 Mr. L. W. Raven for the following:

"On the death of *Reth* Dhokoth the Shilluk did not accept his son Tugo and called
 back the "queen" Abudok who had previously ruled after the death of Busc and had
 resigned to make way for Dhokoth. Tugo had been living at Athokong and now, with all
 his father's cattle and retainers, moved to the north and first founded a village at Fadlang,
 just south of Hodoth. Later he built and gave its name to Fashoda. He was followed
 by the northern chiefs, who had probably not been consulted in the recall of Abudok.
 Abudok then came to meet him at Fashoda, they were reconciled, and Abudok again
 resigned. At that meeting Tugo brought a bull to present to Abudok, and she slaughtered
 it and in doing so named the north, that is from the Nyigir boundary, as "*Gol Dhiang*,"
 the *gol* of the bull (just then killed). Later Tugo settled his retainers in what is now Golbal,
 and the chief of them he made responsible for the north and so head of *Gol Dhiang*."

THE SHILLUK TRIBE

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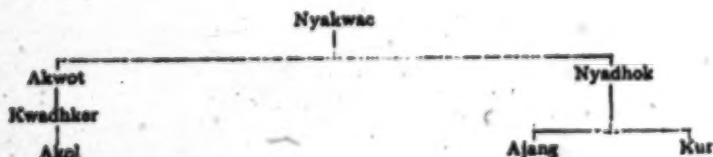
ary between them was a khor called Arepajur, just south of Fashoda. 635
The chief of Debalo Kwom, just to the south of Arepajur, was by
virtue of his office the chief of Luak and the chief of the settlement
of Golbañ, some five miles north of Arepajur, was by virtue of his
office chief of Ger. These two chiefs, with the chiefs of Muomo settle-
ment in the extreme north and Tonga settlement in the south, were
the four high chiefs of the Shilluk Kingdom.

This symmetrical arrangement with Fashoda as its focal point 635
may be described as the indigenous system of the Shilluk government. 642
Minor disputes were settled by the settlement chiefs but in major
matters government was highly centralised. The high chiefs func-
tioned as the *Reth's* representatives. It seems that they were adminis-
trative rather than judicial functionaries and were responsible for
sending to Fashoda for the *Reth's* despatch any matter of more than
local importance.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGING.

The deposition of *Reth* Kwadhker by the Turkish Government in 177
favour of the puppet Ajang Nyidhok and later the attempt by Akol 635
Kwadhker, during the Mahdia, to usurp the Rethship during the
absence in Omdurman of *Reth* Kur Nyidhok led to civil wars in which
the settlements lying to the north of Both espoused successively the
causes of Ajang and Kur (both sons of Nyidhok)⁵⁷. As a result the
settlements from Both northwards to Kwom, which had previously
been a part of Luak, refused to continue so and the boundary between
the two provinces thereafter was made to the south of the settlement
of Both.

57. A simplified branch of the *Kwar Reth* "tree" may help help to clarify these
dynastic struggles:



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635 This change was the less drastic because by that time the division into Luak and Ger had already lost most of its practical significance. There was then already existing a tendency away from the old and highly centralised regime to one in which power was exercised locally by chiefs of confederacies, a tendency which began when the Turkish Government attempted, after deposing *Reth* Ajang, to govern the tribe without a *Reth* and through locally appointed chiefs and which has since developed as a concomitant of the inevitable disappearance of the *Reth's* arbitrary powers. The change of the Luak-Ger boundary had the effect of turning the Chief of Debalo Kwom, who had hitherto been "Chief of Luak," into the chief of the southernmost confederacy of Ger (*i.e.* of the present "Fashoda Division"). He continued nevertheless as the titular Chief of Luak by virtue of being Chief of Debalo Kwom. Recently the chieftainship of Fashoda Division was removed from Debalo Kwom and assumed by the Chief of Lul. An interesting question now is whether the Chief of Fashoda Division or the now subordinate chief of Debalo Kwom is titular Chief of Luak. That this is uncertain is an indication of the emptiness of the title for all practical purposes. It may not be until the *Reth* dies that an answer can be given. Probably the ceremonial functions which appertained to the "Chief of Luak" will be performed by whoever is the chief of Debalo Kwom.

THE GROUPING OF SETTLEMENTS INTO CONFEDERACIES.

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648 As has been said, the growth of territorial units larger than the settlement began with the Turkish experiment following the deposition of *Reth* Ajang. Use was doubtless then made, as has been made since, of the natural tendency of contiguous settlements to agglomerate, by reason of a common cause or of the existence of outstanding personality, into loose and impermanent confederacies, described by the term *luak*.²⁸ These confederacies have ever since been bolstered up to form the administrative units now called Divisions.

28. This word *Luak* has thus three meanings:

- (1) a building for housing cattle.
- (2) The southern province of the kingdom.
- (3) An agglomeration of settlements.

THE SHILLUK TRIBE

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Thus of the present thirteen division chiefs only four hold traditional offices the others being government appointees over units based upon these rather vague confederacies. Though the four high chiefs do still possess an enhanced prestige their position is approximating rapidly to that of their less hallowed colleagues. This evolution to a more local form of government is a natural consequence of the inevitable lessening of the old autocratic power of the Rethship. 177
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The impermanence of these confederacies is shown by a comparison between their composition in the Mahdia and their composition to-day (shown in Appendix IV), as also by the recent removal of the settlements of Mal and Abiangyei from Atodwoi Division to that of Detwok.

THE RETHSHIP.

The power of the *Reths* before Turkish interference was undoubtedly great. It was based partly on the semi-divinity with which tribal tradition clothes them and partly upon their great wealth in cattle and slaves. Justice was probably rough and large scale fighting more prevalent than litigation, such law suits as there were being seen, as previously mentioned, either by the settlement chief or by the *Reth* at Fashoda²⁹. 643
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As well as wielding temporal power the *Reth* has always been the high priest of the tribal religion. Nyikang is mediator between God (*Juok*) and man, and each *Reth* is held to be a reincarnation of Nyikang. As high priest he has various obligations such as providing cattle for the sacred herds at Nyilual and Wau and providing a canoe for use at the shrine of Nyibodho (one of the Shilluk holy places). 643
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Since the entry of the present Government the *Reth* has lost the means of acquiring wealth in cattle and is no longer allowed to have retainers of the traditional sort. He receives a substantial salary but this cannot purchase many cattle and his present comparative poverty has caused an inevitable decline in his temporal and spiritual prestige. The Rethship is living on its not inexhaustible store of divinity and the wonder is that the store has lasted so well. 177
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²⁹. The *Reth* is said to have had the enviable privilege of killing a tiresome litigant with a club.

[177] The *Reth* to-day is a convenient potentate the basis of whose power
[643] becomes more and more of an anachronism. In addition to being
[648] President of the "Central Shilluk Court," and as such hearing appeals
from the twelve Division Courts, he is the mouthpiece of the Government
in an ever increasing number of administrative functions and is invaluable
in making peace in blood feuds and in dealing with all serious breaches
of the peace. The tribe pays him elaborate outward respect, and
continues to feel a genuine reverence for his office.

THE DIVISION CHIEFS.

[177] It has already been explained that nine of the thirteen division
[634] chiefs are in a sense upstarts, being settlement chiefs exalted to an
eminence which tradition does not justify, but that they are becoming
progressively all to be regarded as having equal authority. They are
appointed by the *Reth*, usually on the nomination of a council of the
Settlement Chiefs concerned. The prospect of a monthly salary of
£2 and the anxiety of each settlement to provide the Division Chief
makes the appointment a matter of considerable interest and rivalry.

[648] The Government's policy is generally to allow the chieftainship to
[613] remain with the lineage of the previous holder unless he was dismissed
for misconduct and it is wished to penalise him and his line, or unless
there are no suitable candidates from the holder's lineage, or unless
his lineage has become so weak as to render impotent any chief appointed
therefrom. On such occasions the chieftainship may change from
settlement to settlement, as occurred recently in Fashoda Division.

[613] There is an unfortunate feeling implanted in the Shilluk that so long as
[561] a senior member of the family is alive it is improper that a junior
member be appointed. A potentially able young chief will thus be
rejected on the grounds of the existence of a doddering uncle. Nevertheless
[648] the Shilluk are basically aware of the desirability of a strong
chief and a veto by the Government, expressed beforehand, upon any
candidate who is too old will probably be excepted as a wise dispensation
from above, relieving them of the odium of passing over an elder
member of the family.

THE SHILLUK TRIBE

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The present status and functions of the thirteen Division Chiefs are the same. Each one presides over the court of his Division, and is responsible for the due payment of taxes and for sundry administrative affairs such as the clearing of roads. They have become an essential link in the administration and the feeling of "division-consciousness" is growing and needs to be fostered. The future effectiveness of the *Reth* depends much upon the strengthening of their position as his local representatives. 177
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THE SETTLEMENT CHIEF.

The Settlement Chief is traditionally directly responsible to the *Reth*, since the four intervening high chiefs used to act more as his High Sheriffs than as local potentates. In addition to the execution of the *Reth's* orders the Settlement Chief has always had certain semi-religious obligations such as the building of a house or two houses at Fashoda or the maintaining of the local shrine of Nyikang. The settling of disputes within the settlement has always been his duty and the modern tendency for him to be judicially short-circuited in favour of the Division Chief should be avoided as much as possible. He can and should relieve the Division Chief of much of his work. He should attend meetings of the court at least whenever any party to a case is from his settlement. He is responsible primarily to the Division Chief for public security, taxes and road work. 622
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The settlement chief is selected by the lineage heads of the settlement and invested by the *Reth* who himself knots the *lau* over his shoulder. Those of Tonga alone are invested by the Division Chief.

THE VILLAGE HEADMAN.

The status of the village headman (*jal dwong pac*) varies in accordance with whether he is the headman of the principal village of a lineage (*Pan dwong*), in which case he is not only a village headman but also the representative of his lineage within the settlement, or the headman of a subsidiary village in which case he is a village headman pure and simple, the senior member of a group of homesteads. Headmen of principal villages often receive a *lau*, in some cases from a *Reth* direct 613

622 and in others from the Settlement Chief. In a few cases this *lan* (sometimes designated as *lan thin*, (minor *lan*.) to distinguish it from the *lan* of the Settlement Chief) is given neither by the *Reth* nor by the Settlement Chief but by the chief of the settlement from which this lineage migrated into their present locality. This is uncommon.

613 The headman of a principle village represents his lineage within the settlement. To a certain extent he is and should be made responsible for the taxes of his lineage. If he is the representative of the *dyil* lineage he will have a special status as representative of the true owners of the soil, and in this case the Settlement Chief will tend to regard him with some apprehension as the leader of a potentially rival faction.

622 [651] The headman of a subsidiary village has a lowly status. He has no *lan* and is no more than the head of a family group. Many villages, especially in Luak, are very small, consisting perhaps of a single homestead so that a headman may be the only taxpayer in his village. The forming of such separate homesteads is contrary to good order and should be discouraged as far as possible. In Delal and Atodwoi Divisions the villages are on the whole very much bigger and the tribal discipline tends consequently to be better.

THE GOL LEADER.

592 Every married man has a homestead although it may comprise only himself and his wife. As the owner of a homestead he is a *gol* leader. As such he has little official status but, as has already been explained, he is entirely responsible for the unmarried members of his *gol* and should collect their taxes and hand them to the headman.

To recapitulate we may tabulate the political ladder as follows:—

631	Shilluk tribe		<i>Reth</i> .
	Luak and Ger		Chiefs of <i>Gol Nyikang</i> and <i>Gol Dhiang</i> .
	Division (<i>luak</i>)		Division (or Court) Chief.
	Settlement (<i>podh</i>)		Settlement Chief.
	Hamlet (<i>pac</i>)		<i>Jal dwong pac</i> .
	<i>Gol</i>		<i>Jal Gol</i> .

THE SHILLUK TRIBE

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CHAPTER 5.

CUSTOMARY LAW.

PROPERTY.

Since the *Kwar* entire has been split into lineages within the various settlements the ties of clan have become weaker and now operate practically only within the settlement. *Pari passu* with this slackening of the ties of the clan has occurred a change in the ownership of cattle³⁰. Possibly the clan used to own cattle in a communal herd from which were disbursed cattle in return for wives from another clan. At present the cattle of each hamlet are kept rigidly apart and not even within the hamlet are they communally owned. The *gol* leader alone owns cattle and he alone, as has already been described, can dispose of them. He alone allots cattle as bride wealth for unmarried male members of his *gol* and receives cattle paid to the *gol*, whether as marriage price or as compensatory payment for a wrong. 422 614

It is not perhaps too fanciful to compare his position with that of a trustee towards beneficiaries (who are the members of his *gol*). He is the sole legal owner and can, legally, dispose of them as he chooses. He holds them in fact however subject to a trust which equity will enforce. The terms of the trust are that all cattle shall be applied solely towards the marriages of male members of the *gol* in order of their seniority, that no cattle shall be sold except for the purchase of grain in time of famine, and that the *gol* leader shall not himself marry a second time unless there is no unmarried male member of the *gol* of marriageable age. Any compensatory payment becoming due from the *gol* on account of a wrong should take precedence over any other payment. A breach of these "terms of trust" would be universally censured but would probably not be interfered with by the courts, which tend conveniently to hold that a *gol* leader has full and sole right as to disposal. 422 592 583

It is interesting that where a compensatory payment for killing is due the net is cast wider and not only the entire lineage but even members of other lineages of the same clan may be required to contribute. 613 614 612

30. Where "cattle" is used in this chapter it may be taken to extend also to goats.

177 Recently, owing to the cultivation of cotton and to the increase
 422 in demand for work at Malakal and elsewhere, the value of money has
 436 come to be more appreciated. Most of the money so acquired is
 stored up for the purchase of a bull, very little being spent in shops.
 [454] The purchaser of a bull not unreasonably objects to its going into the
 567 maw of the *gol* herd and accordingly deposits it for safe keeping with
 a distant friend. This innovation, which is no less than the introduc-
 tion of a system of private ownership of cattle, is calculated to work
 eventually a deep change in customary law. The growth of cash-
 [684] mindness has already resulted in cash being sometimes substituted for
 a bull in cases of payments in compensation for sexual wrongs. No
 case is known where cash has been accepted instead of one or more
 of the bride wealth cattle, but this would be logically the next step.
 [182] The effect of a change to cash bride wealth would be large. The present
 583 system makes for tribal cohesion and for the administratively con-
 venient system of vicarious responsibility, whereas cash marriage
 payments would loosen remaining cohesion of the *gol* and render each
 man responsible for himself. Cattle would cease to become a medium
 of exchange in marriage contracts and become a commodity. The
 innumerable goats would cease to eat up the cotton and the products
 [146] of the Mission gardens and instead themselves be eaten, much to the
 benefit of the Shilluk physique according to medical opinion. The
 economic absurdity of the Malakal Hospital contractor being some-
 times compelled to import tinned milk by air so as not to forfeit his
 deposit would be avoided. The possibility of such economic advantages
 is to be set against the consequent lessening of tribal cohesion.

SUCCESSION.

429 There are no definite rules for the inheritance of chattels. Distribu-
 567 tion usually takes place before death. If not they will generally be
 taken by the eldest son, or, in default of sons, by the next-of-kin to
 the deceased. The inheritance of chattels rarely produces litigation.

428 Cattle are taken by the succeeding *gol* leader, who may be a married
 592 son or a married brother according to circumstances. In any case
 the new *gol* leader holds the cattle inherited under the same trust as

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that under which the deceased held them. For example if a man dies leaving four sons, two married and two unmarried, the two unmarried sons will join the *gol* of their eldest married brother, who thereupon becomes to them *in loco parentis* and their *gol* leader. With this addition to his *gol* the eldest married brother will take also the cattle which used to belong to the deceased, his father, but he will hold them "on trust" for the marriage of these two brothers. 428 592

THE MARRIAGE TIE.

Marriage marks the assumption of personal responsibility, signified outwardly by the acquisition of a homestead. A man wishes to marry as many wives as he can because, although a man with one wife is a full member of society, he who has three or four (more being unusual outside the *Kwar Rath*), is a man of substance and power. This is because his *gol* will become large and powerful and in a position to dominate in its locality. Where an appeal to the spear is an ever present possibility there is definite strength in numbers. There is no place in society for batchelors or spinsters of mature age, and in fact with the exception of *Rath's* daughters and the mentally deficient they hardly exist. Women outnumber men, so that polygyny is reasonable and almost necessary. 581 595 [589] [162]

The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier, (such as known consanguinity between the parties, whether through male or female lines of descent) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering to the women's *gol* a sheep (*dyel dhoh*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete. There follows the beer brewing (*tieng mogho*) and a wedding dance which is held in the woman's village and which serves the important purpose of fixing the marriage in the minds of the public. The completion of the cattle payments (*kany*) may be delayed over a period of years, and until they are complete the woman usually continues to live in her own homestead where her husband may visit 585 582 [582] [583] 182 583 591

182 her. The inconvenience of this arrangement acts as a spur to the
 583 husband to complete the payments as quickly as possible in order to
 591 get his wife home to do the cooking.

585 Thus a marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep
 848 has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a con-
 comitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage
 tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in
 cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute,
 is not the sufficiency of the cattle payments but the acceptance or
 otherwise of the proffered sheep. Incidentally if the wedding dance is
 proved to have been held this is usually sufficient proof of the acceptance
 of the sheep, so that the question at issue is usually whether or not the
 wedding dance was held. Naturally evidence about this, which is a
 function attended by a large gathering, is usually forthcoming.

585 It is not always so, however, particularly where the marriage under
 dispute occurred some twenty years previously. In such circumstances
 [584] if it is proved as a fact that more than four head of cattle have been
 paid then, since four head of cattle is the maximum payable for seduction,
 a strong presumption is raised that the union was a true marriage.
 Analogously a contrary presumption is raised if it appears that not
 more than one or two head have been paid, a presumption which
 would be rebutted only by proof that a wedding dance has been held.

586 A marriage in which only a few head of cattle are paid is often
 dissolved since the woman's *gol* are apt to get tired of waiting and
 to marry her to another man. In such case the children born of the
 [584] dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the
 cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived.
 This question will receive a more detailed consideration later.

CUSTOMS SURROUNDING MARRIAGE.

586 Surrounding the elements necessary to the creation of the marriage
 tie is a mass of traditional procedure which serves to solemnise and
 make marriage as permanent as may be. Divorce entails a chain of
 [578] acrimonious litigation not only wearisome to the litigants but likely to
 CAUSE FAMILY disruption.

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cause family disruption. It is therefore to be avoided if possible, and it is to this end that most of the marriage customs exist. 586

Freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes. Only when cattle are urgently required does a father sometimes marry off his daughter under age, probably to a Dinka who will usually be willing to pay ten head of cattle since his own dowry payment is much larger. The usual procedure is for the girl first to be asked by her admirer whether she will marry him. If she agrees, she will then tell her *gol* leader of the proposal. This may be the first intimation her family has, and there will be a hasty consideration of prospects. If the husband is acceptable he will be told to bring a sheep (the *dyl dhok*). At once he will don his finery, as also will the best man,³¹ and the pair will proffer the sheep. If it is accepted the wedding dance will follow closely and the cattle will be brought thereafter by the best man as circumstances permit. If they are readily available about eight will be brought soon after the wedding dance and the remaining two will remain over until a final dance (*mogho thich*) has been held in the bride's village. At this dance neither the bride nor the bridegroom dance. The bridegroom sits in a house apart with the best man and the bride remains with her family. It is said that sometimes the bridegroom "calls out" the bride, in which case the best man dances with the bride and the bridegroom with the bridesmaid³². The bride's maid is a girl friend of the bride who acts as go-between in the frequent elopements which occur after the acceptance of the sheep and before the final dance. Such elopements are regarded lightly by the bride's *gol* who are usually pacified by the present of another sheep, but who nevertheless retrieve their daughter if they can. 584
583

The best man is the bridegroom's friend who often accompanies him on a journey to spy out the land for a desirable wife and who, as already mentioned, goes with him to proffer the sheep. Once the sheep is accepted the wife's *gol* appoint also their *jal tong* and it is through these intermediaries that all haggling over cattle is conducted. 584

31. *Jal tong*, meaning literally "man of the spear."

32. *Nya dhey tong*, meaning literally "young woman of the spear."

585 A poor quality animal will be rejected by the *jal tong* of the bride's family who will request the best man to bring a better. In a sense these intermediaries act as solicitors of the contracting parties, and [182] by their mediation reduce friction which might lead to a breach of the marriage.

The *mogho thiek* is the final ceremony marking the separation of the wife from her own clan, and sometimes ends with a mock battle resulting in the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom. The bridegroom's party throw spears into the village of the bride and her relations reply with an answering shower, each side keeping the other's spears. After this mock battle the bride goes to [591] the village of the bridegroom. The remaining two or three head of cattle will soon be brought and the transaction is then complete. The last bull is sometimes known as *wank thiek*.

The above is a description of a marriage in which no hitch has occurred. Often the sequence of events is entirely different. For [634] example an original seduction often eventuates in a marriage, in which case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above) it. In such cases also the marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girls' family will accept it until the seduction payment is complete. Again some marriages drag on interminably because the bridegroom's *gol* does not produce cattle. In such cases the wife's *gol* sometimes tire [586] of waiting and end the marriage by marrying her to another, in which case the disappointed husband is entitled to recover any cattle he has paid. At other times, if the husband is acceptable to the woman's *gol* or if, as often happens, they know that the girl is so fond of her lover that all attempts to marry her elsewhere will fail they accept the marriage and content themselves by waiting until a daughter of the marriage is married, when they will claim from her bride wealth the number of cattle remaining in arrears from the bride wealth of her mother.

583 Generally the cattle payments go all to the *gol* leader of the woman, be he her father, brother, or uncle. Professor Seligmann was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact

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only in the one case already described does he receive anything ; i.e., when he claims from the bride wealth of his niece such cattle as are in arrears from the marriage of his sister. Where such arrears are claimed they are a first charge upon the new cattle payments."⁵⁸³

ORA.

A man will describe as *Ora* not only all his wife's kinsmen but also, strictly speaking, all kinsmen of the wives of all his own kinsmen. Obviously, if strictly thus interpreted, *ora* would embrace a very large group indeed. But the word has two senses. In its wider sense it does embrace a very large group, though as will be seen later the extent of the group embraced is limited by a not too rigorous interpretation of the word "kinsmen." In this wider sense it has a significance in the various sex taboos such as *dwalo* which will be considered later. For the moment consideration of this wider sense will be postponed to a consideration of the *ora* tie in its narrower sense of the tie which unites a husband to the *gol* of his wife. ⁶⁰⁷

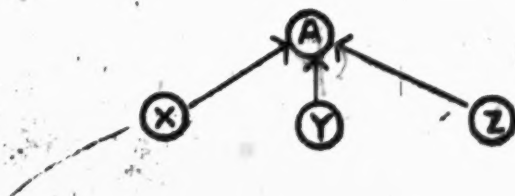
Throughout the earlier years of the marriage members of the husband's *gol* have to pay special reverence³³ to the *gol* of his wife. The reason for this, as for so many marriage customs, is the recognised necessity of avoiding all possible causes of friction during what may be called the period of tension. This tension is the product of a definite inequilibrium. The husband's *gol* are acutely aware of having paid ten head of cattle as pledge for the as yet uncertain good behaviour of the wife. As the wife produces children she pays off, so to speak, the marriage cattle at the rate of five head of cattle for each daughter and two for each son until, when she has produced two daughters or five sons (or an arithmetically suitable combination of the sexes), the tension is resolved. Thereafter no law suit would follow the breach of the marriage since it would be considered that the husband's *gol* had got their "money's worth." During the period of tension the ⁵⁸¹
⁶⁰⁷

33. An example may clarify this. X has been married by A who has paid 6 head of cattle only. Y is the brother of X. X has, by A, a daughter, Z, who is married by P. The bride wealth paid by P all goes to A, but A must pay 4 head of cattle to Y, because these are due in arrears to Y from the marriage of X. Y is of course the maternal uncle of Z.

607 husband will not speak to his *ors* and if he meets them on the road will step hurriedly off the roadway and allow them to pass.

SEX TABOOS.

607 The *ors* tie in the wider of the two senses above described, is of
613 practical importance only in connexion with certain sex taboos breach
835 of which is visited by *dualo* sickness. In what follows the word *pac* (or *pa*) must be taken to mean a lineage (i.e., a detachment of a clan within a settlement). The expression *pa ors* thus means a *pac* which is *ors* to the speaker's *pac*. Since the speaker's *pac* will not all have married into one and the same *pac* it follows that it will have several of these. Thus in the diagram:—



582 If there has been intermarriage between A on the one hand and X,
835 Y and Z on the other, then X, Y and Z are all *ors* to A, A being reciprocally *ors* to X, Y and Z. If men of A have married women from X,
613 Y and Z, no men of X, Y or Z may marry women from A. To have
607 other than "one-way traffic" would hopelessly confuse the issues.

It might be supposed that, since in each *pac* (in the particular enlarged sense of the word defined above) there may average fifty married men, the number of *pacs* which are *ors* would be nearly as numerous. In fact this is not the case because each *pac* develops a tendency to marry women from another particular *pac*³⁵. This tendency is nothing more than a traditional convention with which it is not

³⁵ For example it is the tendency of the youths of Fathworo to marry girls of Adhidiang.

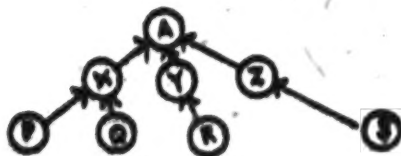
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compulsory to comply. It will be seen later that it lessens the possibility of *dualo*. 582
835
613
607

Dualo^{as}

In this diagram:—



X, Y and Z are, as before, *ora* of A (men of A having married women from them). X have married women from P and Q; Y have married women from R; and Z have married women from S. The entire membership of P, Q, R and S stands to *pa* A as *myer man ora*, "that is to say *myer ora* of the *myer ora* of A (or "villages of the wives of the *ora* of A," an exact translation of "*myer man ora* A"). To have sexual relations with a woman of a village which is thus *ora* of the second degree (*pa man ora*) is to break a taboo and incur the supernatural sanction of *dualo* sickness.

The same sickness is said to be produced by incest or by a man 182
having relations with a woman to whom he is related; but it seems 582
that the most grievous form is that incurred in the manner described. 607
It will appear complicated but to the Shilluk it is a simple conception. 613
Nothing is more important than to avoid friction with one's *pa ora* 835
and nothing is better calculated to produce it than the seduction of a
pa man ora girl. This may require explanation. As already said

36. *Dualo* is a form of sickness which from a description of the symptoms would appear to resemble dropsy. Both the woman concerned and her child are affected, and it is believed that they will die unless the man who has seduced her in contravention of the taboo makes a prophylactic sacrifice by splitting a gourd, killing a sheep and putting the stomach contents on top of the gourd in the road-way, "so that the people passing—by may carry away the *dualo*." 753
755

37. *Myer* is the plural of *pa*.

182 there develops a tendency for *pac* A (to refer again to the diagram above)
 582 to marry women of *pac* X. Men of *pac* A will therefore have ready
 607 access to the unmarried girls of *pac* X, as, similarly, will men of *pac* X
 613 have ready access to the unmarried girls of their *ps ora*, P. Now if a
 835 man of *pac* A seduces a girl of *pac* P it naturally annoys the men of
pac X who regard *pac* P girls as in some sense their prerogative.

Dwalo is thus a good example of a religious sanction harnessed to the service of social expediency. Without doubt, although no Shilluk volunteered the explanation, the *dwalo* taboo has developed from the consciousness that seduction must be rigorously discouraged where it would imperil good relations between *ora*.

DIVORCE.

768 The verb *lang* is used for the breaking of a marriage, whether owing
 [586] to the death of the wife or to her refusal to live with her husband. Cases
 where the wife dies are naturally less acrimonious than those of the
 other kind and will be considered first.

583 Where a marriage is terminated by the death of the wife, her *gol*
 must either present to the husband an unmarried sister as *kai ot*,³⁸ or
 768 they must return the cattle (or their equivalent in similar animals)
 [587] making deductions for children born of the marriage and living at the
 time of their mother's death. These deductions are generally at the
 rate of two head for each son and five for each daughter, the children of
 course going to their father. Thus a husband who has paid the full
 bride wealth of ten head and has a son and a daughter alive and born
 of the marriage can reclaim only three head of cattle.

586 Cases resulting from the refusal of the wife to cohabit with her
 husband may be more properly described as cases of divorce. Divorce
 in this sense results not from any act of the parties but from a state of
 affairs judicially recognised as warranting the return to the husband of
 the bride wealth, with or without suitable deductions for children born.
 Deductions are usually made, but if it is held that the behaviour of
 the wife has been particularly blame-worthy the husband is sometimes

38. Literally "substitute of the house."

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awarded the return of his cattle in full together with the custody of the children. The only cases where divorce may be said to result from an act of the parties is where the cattle have not yet fully been paid and the wife is in consequence still in her own village. In this case if the wife's *gol* despair of the full bride wealth ever being paid they may call off the marriage and marry her to another. In this case the first husband must be repaid the equivalent of the cattle paid by him and this repayment should be made a first charge on the new bride wealth. Deductions will be made here also for children born, for even in such cases the children will go to the husband, provided always that the proffered sheep has been accepted. 586

If the wife had produced sufficient children to wipe off the whole bride wealth the husband will be entitled to receive nothing upon termination of the marriage, except that as has been said if the marriage has been broken through the wife's bad behaviour the husband may be awarded the return of at least a part.

Until about 1910 upon a breach of marriage the wife's *gol* had to return not only all the identical cattle paid which were still living but also all their living offspring, quite irrespective of their having passed lawfully into the possession of others. Thus divorce produced a string of litigation horrible to imagine. This state of affairs still persists with some of the Dinka of Equatoria Province. It may have the social merit of making divorce even more unpleasant in its consequences for all concerned, but it possesses also many obvious disadvantages which led to the change made by the Resident of the Shilluk in about 1910. Thereafter equivalent cattle were to suffice and offspring born after payment were not reclaimable. This change has been accepted by the Shilluk though there are still cases where reactionary chiefs go by the old rules. The change had the effect of rendering cattle negotiable instruments. 177 586 648 691 [171]

COMPENSATORY PAYMENTS IN SEXUAL OFFENCES.

The generic word for cattle payments in respect of sexual offences is *kuor*. *Kuor* is payable to the *gol* of the woman concerned if she is unmarried or still living with her own *gol* and to the husband if she is 684

684 married and living with him. It varies from four head of cattle to one bull, its different types being:—

<i>Kwor yar cis dhano</i>	— for making pregnant the wife of another	4 head of cattle
<i>Kwor yar nian a fur</i>	— for making pregnant an unmarried girl (or one who, although married, is still living with her own <i>gol</i>)	3 head of cattle
<i>Kwor kwobe cis dhano</i>	— for having relations with a married woman without resulting pregnancy	3 head of cattle
<i>Kwor kwobe nian a fur</i>	— for having relations with an unmarried girl without resulting pregnancy (or with one who, although married, is still living with her own <i>gol</i>)	1 head of cattle

835 Provided the appropriate payment is promptly made these cases produce little ill feeling. No *kwor* is payable where a man has relations with the wife of his brother or of his father (other, of course, than his own mother). In fact little resentment is felt in such cases, especially if the offender is unmarried, the realistic view prevailing that it is better so than that he should incur cattle payments by exploits elsewhere.

684 Sexual offences are seldom disputed. Those resulting in pregnancy come to light inevitably, for the girl will be questioned and will reply truthfully; nor will a man thus named ever deny. Cases not resulting in pregnancy come to light only when the woman, whether after marriage or before, is giving birth to a child. Shilluk mothers think that their labour is facilitated if they name to the attendant midwife every man with whom they have had relations. News is brought to her family of the names uttered and the woman's *gol* hasten to claim the requisite *kwor* from every man named. Sometimes as many as five bulls are

684 claimed from five separate men, but sometimes when too many paramours are named the girls' *gol* are ashamed and do not claim at all. [548] Although women who go to live in the towns often become prostitutes there is no prostitution in tribal life. Since the marriage age for men [637] is on the average as high as twentyeight extra marital relations are [585] not uncommon.

848 Children born outside marriage may be taken on by the man who eventually marries their mother. If so then he is made to pay extra for them at the rate of five head of cattle for a daughter and two for a [597] son.

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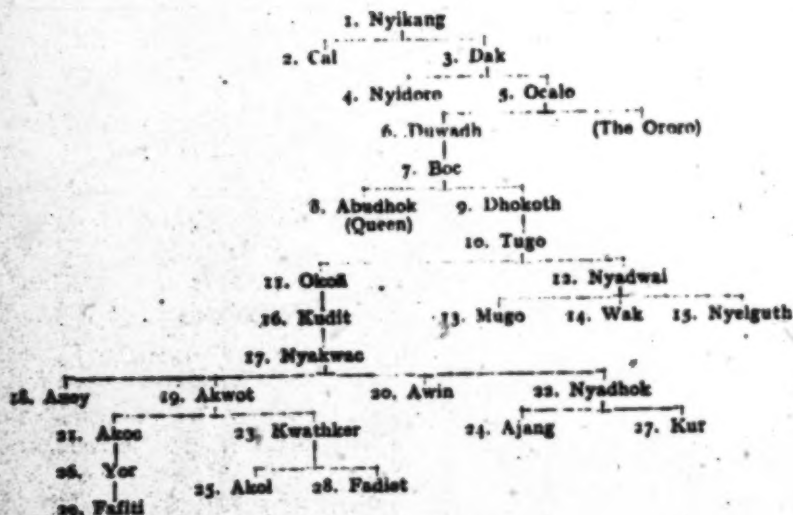
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son. Alternatively, and probably more frequently, they are brought up by the *goi* of their mother and regard their maternal uncle *in loco parentis*. In such case the child, whether male or female, is termed *okeijo* and belongs to the clan of its maternal uncle. Such a child may have relations with the wife of his maternal uncle in the same way as a son may have relations with the wife of his father²⁹. A girl who is *okeijo* will be married from the hand of her maternal uncle who will receive the entire cattle price.

APPENDIX 1.

TREE OF THE KWAR RETH.

(N.B.—This is Hofmayr's tree, adopted by Professor Seligman and here reproduced with spelling alterations only.)



²⁹ This fact well confirms the view that it is social expediency and no affair of blood which dictates the *duale* taboo.

APPENDIX II.

INSTALLATION OF A NEW RETH.

643 When a *Reth*¹ dies the Chiefs of Golbafi and Debalo consult as to who among the available *Nyireth* is to become *Reth*. This decided, the king elect is seized and taken to Fashoda where he stays quietly till the late *Reth*'s mourning dance has been held. Then follows the installation ceremony. Details of this have been described by Munroe who witnessed it. The essential element is the ceremonial entry from Debalo to Fashoda. For this there are two rival "armies," *lin Reth* and *lin Nyikang*². The latter army brings the images³ of Dak and Nyikang in state from Akurwa to Fashoda and awaits the arrival of the *lin Reth* at the north side of Khor Arepajur (which lies between Debalo and Fashoda). *Lin Reth* then accompanies the new *Reth* from Debalo to the Khor, each man carrying a bit of dura stalk as a spear. *Lin Nyikang*, of which the members carry thongs of twisted grass,⁴ "capture" the *Reth* from his own army. Thereupon the *Reth* walks across the prostrate form of an elderly man (described as *odung*) who lies down in his path in the Khor bed. Thereafter the *Reth* is escorted to Fashoda by two "holy maidens" (*nyawole woa man kwer*) of which one is from the *Oro* and the other from *Kwar Okel*. These afterwards becoming his wives. The *Reth* then stabs a bull as *geidhi*⁵ for the *odung*, who thereafter has traditionally the right to seize any of the *Reth*'s cattle upon which he can immediately lay hands. The *Reth* is then taken to the four huts on the mound⁶ at Fashoda. The image of Nyikang is placed upon the sacred stool (*kwom*). The *Reth* seizes the foot of the stool and the image of Nyikang is removed from it. The *Reth* then sits upon the stool and becomes thereby invested with his holy office. Three days seclusion on the mound follow, after which he is ceremonially washed in one of the four huts which is used exclusively for

1. *Reths* are said in Shilluk not to die but to "pass" (*podh*).

2. *Lin Reth* is composed of warriors from *Ger* and *lin Nyikang* from warriors of *Lual*.

3. These are poles of bamboo crowned with ostrich feathers.

4. *Owalle*.

5. *Geidhi* is the payment made by a person who has injured another as indication of his readiness to pay the customary compensation in due course.

6. The mound is called *atwawic*.

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this purpose. Thereafter his installation is complete and he has become clothed with the spirit of Nyikang which will remain with him until he dies.

Dak married his half-sister, Nyadwai. This precedent was followed by all the old *Reths* who apparently always had one of their sisters among their wives. This sister was known as *okwalo* and used probably to be one of the holy maidens mentioned above. It is said that this practice has now ceased and that the *Reths* no longer take one of their sisters to wife. The last case which can be cited is that of *Reth Nyakwac*⁷ who married his half-sister, Nyago. *Kwanyireth* Bol Acien of Lul (the present Chief of Fashoda Division) is reputed to be descended from this union.

APPENDIX III.

TERMS OF RELATIONSHIP.

The Shilluk system for describing relationship and connexions by marriage is classificatory. The terms used will be given under the following three heads:—

- (1) Relationships with kinsmen.
- (2) Other relationships.
- (3) Connexions consequent upon the marriage tie.

(1) RELATIONSHIP WITH KINSMEN.

(N.B.—In the terms given below that given first is the word without possessive suffix. That given second is the word with the addition of the first person singular possessive suffix. Thus "*Wi Deng*" means Deng's father, while "*Nyimia*" means "my sister.")

(a) Relations of the same generation:

<i>Uwi</i>	<i>Uwia</i>	Every male kinsmen (theoretically however remote) if of the same generation, (i.e., classificatory brother).
<i>Nyiw</i>	<i>Nyiwia</i>	Same as <i>Uwi</i> , but feminine, (i.e., classificatory sister).
<i>Umi</i>	<i>Umia</i>	Uterine brother.
<i>Nyimi</i>	<i>Nyimia</i>	Uterine sister.

7. This is kept highly secret.

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

601 (b) *Relations in father's generation:*

<i>Wi</i>	<i>Wis</i>	Father, and father's <i>wui</i> .
<i>Waje</i>	<i>Waje</i>	Father's <i>nyiwi</i> .
<i>Mai</i>	<i>Maia</i>	Mother.

(c) *Relations in grandfather's generation.*

<i>Kwai</i>	<i>Kwaia</i>	Grandfather and any male relative (patrilineal or matrilineal) in the grandfather's generation.
<i>Wang</i>	<i>Wanga</i>	Grandmother and any female relative (patrilineal or matrilineal) in the grandmother's generation.

(d) *Relations in son's generation.*

<i>Wad</i>	<i>Wada</i>	Son.
<i>Nyar</i>	<i>Nyara</i>	Daughter.
<i>Umadhe</i>	<i>Umadha</i>	Son's <i>wui</i> .
<i>Nyimadhe</i>	<i>Nyimadha</i>	Son's <i>nyiwi</i> .

(e) *Relations in grandson's generation:*

<i>Kwar</i>	<i>Kwara</i>	This word is used for any descendant (of either sex) of grandson's (or any more remote) generation. It is also used for plural of such.
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(a) OTHER RELATIONSHIPS.

(a) *Relations in the same generation:*

<i>Unai</i>	<i>Una</i>	Mother's brother's son or <i>wui</i> of such.
<i>Nyina</i>	<i>Nyina</i>	Same as <i>unai</i> , but feminine.
<i>Uma</i>	<i>Uma</i>	Son of mother's sister or <i>wui</i> of such.
<i>Nyina</i>	<i>Nyina</i>	Same as <i>uma</i> but feminine.

(b) *Relations in the mother's generation:*

<i>Nai</i>	<i>Na</i>	Mother's brother or <i>wui</i> of such.
<i>Ma</i>	<i>Ma</i>	Mother's sister, or <i>nyiwi</i> of such.

(c) *In higher generations:*

It has been noted above that all blood relatives of grandfather's generation are called *kwei* or *wanga* in accordance with whether they are male or female.

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(d) *In son's generation :*

<i>Ohai</i>	<i>Oha</i>	Sister's son (son of <i>nyinai</i> would also be classed <i>ohai</i>). 601
<i>Nyihai</i>	<i>Nyika</i>	Same as <i>ohai</i> , but feminine.

(e) *In lower generations :*

<i>Kwar</i>	<i>Kwara</i>	The meaning of this term has been given in (1) (e) above.
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(3) CONNEXIONS CONSEQUENT UPON THE MARRIAGE TIE.

(a) *Terms used by men :**Ora*. A generic term used :—

- (i) By a husband to describe his wife's immediate family.
- (ii) By a husband to describe the *ora* (in sense (i)) of any of his kinsmen.
- (iii) By a man to describe all blood relations of his wife.
- (iv) By a man to describe the husband of his sister or of any related to such husband by blood.

(N.B.—It will be seen the *ora* is a very wide term. Strictly men class every member of a clan to which any of their clan is married or has ever within memory been married as being *ora*. Nevertheless a man will only call another *ora* or *jal ora* when the person addressed is a member of his wife's immediate family.)

(b) *Terms used by women :*

<i>Yure</i>	<i>Yura</i>	<i>Uwi</i> of husband.
<i>Waje</i>	<i>Waja</i>	<i>Nyiwi</i> of husband.
<i>Kwai</i>	<i>Kwais</i>	Husband's father or husband's father's <i>uwi</i> .
<i>Wang</i>	<i>Wanga</i>	Husband's mother, or any female relative of husband belonging to husband's mother's generation.
<i>Ora</i>	<i>Ora</i>	Husband's uterine brother.

SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS

APPENDIX IV.

TABLE SHOWING ARRANGEMENT OF SETTLEMENTS INTO CONFEDERACIES AT THE TIME OF THE MAHDI AND THEIR PRESENT GROUPING INTO DIVISIONS.

Divisions (1949)	Settlements	Assessed number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdi.
103 161 631 175 177 Muomo	Thworokit Manam Muomo Aguoro Thor Abuor Akurwa	117 90 243 99 100 64 94	Muomo
Delal	Nun Aramboth Delal Ajak Nyirudo Arueth	139 88 138 88 57	Delal
Athoduel	Thuro Dimoth Athoduel Nyilec Fanyikang Ogod	197 66 310 144 50 101	Athoduel
Detwak	Abiangyal Mal Burbuk Fabi Oticogo Detwak Alel Kwocung Acago Ataro	174 82 52 162 77 140 97 73 77 62	Abiangyal Oticogo
Golbaf	Golo Kodok Lemo Fadiang Golbaf Nyigir	377 350 143 284 226 466	Golbaf

OLD BOUNDARY BETWEEN GER AND LEAL.

Fashoda	Wadman Aguoro Kwom Lul... Yod Thulong Biu... Fabur Bol... Nyinger Both	170 112 191 239 173 220 62 86 115 85 65	Kwom
---------	--	---	------

THE SHILLUK TRIBE

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Divisions (1940)	Settlements	Assessed number of adult males. (in 1936)	Arrangement of Confederacies in the time of the Mahdia.
NEW BOUNDARY BETWEEN GER AND LUAK.			
Ogod	Fathan	75	Ogod
	Fadit	108	
	Wau	243	
	Ogod Pac	140	
	Ogod Butu	176	
Malakal	Ogod Famedh	128	Malakal
	Malakal Fathoro	189	
	Malakal Acrop Puot	106	
	Malakal Ocolo	61	
	Malakal Ayowangen	72	
	Wij Malakal	92	
	Malakal Thuorobuonyo	71	
	Obwa	357	
	Awarajuok	269	
	Athokong	129	
Dettim	Adodo	141	Dettim
	Dur	232	
	Thuoro Dettim	196	
	Owaci	213	
	Obai Abujop	161	
	Obai Dego	101	
Fanyidwai	Fakang	214	Fanyidwai
	Falo	216	
	Fathuoro	95	
	Adhidhiang	117	
	Fanyidwai Pac	107	
	Faju	267	
NyiJak	Abujop	210	non existent
	Odwar	63	
	Nyijok	226	
	Nyanacan	73	
	Nagdiar	176	
Fanyikang	Agunjuok	43	Fanyikang
	Nyiyar	128	
	Fakwar	80	
	Akonare	67	
	Oduojo	119	
	Nyilual	94	
	Bur	114	
	Wilnyang	150	
	Dyel	101	
	Wuobo	78	
Tonga	Nyilwak	279	Tonga (Tung)
	Dor	97	
	Odong Tugo	100	
	Difi	96	
	Nyijwado	124	
	Dhok Alal	117	
	Yom	355	
	Atigo	145	
	Nyibodo	122	
	Ayadhajo	108	
	Pafunjo	104	

103

161

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APPENDIX V.

THE CHARACTER OF THE SHILLUK AND SOME OF THEIR CONVENTIONS.

177
186
[626] The most striking Shilluk characteristic is pride of race, from which most other features of their character spring. Their intense conservatism, for example, results from a conviction that everything not Shilluk in origin is inevitably bad. Their much complained of insolence results from their belief that they are every bit as good as the foreigner and just a little better because he has that great initial handicap of not being a Shilluk. It is remarkable that so few Shilluk can understand Arabic considering that no Shilluk village is more than thirty miles from either Tonga, Malakal, Kodok or Kaka, where Arabic is spoken and that from early times their contact with the north has been incessant if not always of the happiest. The *Rak's* chief policeman, an intelligent man who acts as his agent in Malakal and is constantly in attendance at the office, can speak no Arabic.

177
153 Nor is the cause simply lack of intelligence and adaptability. When a Shilluk leaves the tribe and becomes, for example, a Medical Assistant in Malakal or Tonga he dresses in western fashion because otherwise he would be laughed at. Likewise in such circumstances his children will wear seamed garments like the children of the townspeople. But as soon as he goes back to his village, whether on leave or retirement, he at once resumes the traditional tribal dress. Those who have had an opportunity to compare their intelligence with that of the Dinka, Nuer and northern Sudanese say that they are slightly more intelligent than the Nuer or the Dinka and about equal in ability to the Northerner. Certainly the Shilluk who know the English language speak it well, and it cannot be said that they are bad linguists in face of such examples as that of a notorious *Kwanyirak* of medical connexion who speaks English, Arabic, Dinka, Nuer and Anuak with great fluency and gets along adequately in Muri. Pure conservatism and the fact that all local merchants speak Shilluk accounts for the almost non-existent progress made by the Arabic language in a century of contact.

181 Disobedience, insubordination and insolence are according to many the chief Shilluk vices. The first two, although no doubt very

THE SHILLUK TRIBE

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threats to those who encounter them, do not merit discussion. Subordination and obedience are not in themselves virtues. That the Shilluk are often highly insolent to those in authority is undeniable. This insolence usually takes the form of a supercilious silence and apparent complete disdain implying that "diplomatic relations have now been broken off." This attitude is really not exactly what it seems. In fact it is suppressed rage; but since their symptoms of temper differ from our own we are inclined, often wrongly, to think that it is pure calculated insolence.

The Shilluk have a code of manners which is remarkable. This is instilled into them when young. Even as neatness and order prevail within their houses so are the children taught good manners. When four or five years of age they are made to sit up straight at meals and eat properly. These good manners remain with them through life and distinguish their bearing from that of neighbouring tribes. Doubtless it is in part an empty form but the fact remains that the Shilluk manners are excellent, and their way of sitting in a meeting with their legs drawn backwards to one side and the soles of their feet concealed from view is very neat. No smoking is tolerated at such meetings and their general tone is orderly.

There is a habit, when listening to a superior speaking, of punctuating his remarks with a formal indication of assent. The word thus used varies with the speaker, and is most obvious when the speaker is the *Reth*. Here the word is either *kite kwan* ("the likeness of his ancestor," i.e., Nyikang) or *Kunajuok* ("God's last born"). For members of *Kwar Reth* the word is *Kaiyo*, for the *Ororo* it is *Nyagol* and for some reason for the *Jung* clan it is *Dhiang*.¹

It has already been explained how certain members of the *Kwar Reth* must be addressed by their titles or with their titles prefixed to their names. There are also certain respectful modifications which must be made to normal speech when speaking to or about the *Reth*, a *Nyireth*, or anyone of importance. These modifications relate largely to verbs of motion. The fiction has to be laboriously maintained that such

1. *Kaiyo* means "eldest born," *Nyagol* means "one of the family" and *Dhiang* means, literally "cow."

195 beings have no motive power other than divine impulse. They are
 565 moved always by God. Thus *yi hai juok* (you have been brought
 614 by God) takes the place of *yi bi* (you have come) which is a normal form
 644 of greeting among friends.

When the conversation relates to or is being carried on with the
 195 *Rath* himself, more complicated modifications are necessary. Objects
 643 used by the *Rath* are called differently from their normal names.
 There are many examples, most of which have been given by Professor
 Westermann. It is interesting that the names which objects assume
 owing to their association with the *Rath* are always names of similar
 but inferior objects. Thus his beer is called "water," his donkey is
 called his "dog," his spear is his "stick" and, strangest perhaps of all
 his head is his "pebble."

195 Elaborate circumlocution is necessary when enquiring about child-
 844 birth. A married woman can hardly be asked if she has children or
 576 how many had she got. Even a husband should not be asked outright
 whether or not his wife had produced him children. The husband will
 be asked "has your wife found something small?" or "has your
 wife been helped by God?" It is also very bad manners to ask a
 woman what is the name of her husband.

835 These conventions might lead one to suppose that matters of sex
 were regarded as delicate *per se*, but this is hardly the truth. Outside
 wedlock there is no nicety. An unmarried girl will be asked with
 [836] brutal frankness "*yi yaci men*" ("you were made pregnant by whom?")
 and here the word is the same as that used in talking of domestic
 animals. The inference is that delicacy is required not because the
 subject relates to sex but only if and when it touches upon the marriage
 tie.

576 No one can deny that the Shilluk are by our standards brutal.
 682 Their code dictates that a man may be killed for a man, quite irres-
 pective of the victim's guilt provided only he is from the clan of the
 killer of the man avenged.

577 Their moral code, though peculiar, is definite and strictly observed.
 [837] The marriage tie is not sacrosanct, but rape, as also prostitution, is
 548 almost unknown. Both are regarded with abhorrence.

THE SHILLUK TRIBE

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In matters of money they are often surprisingly honest. Money loans are usually repaid punctiliously and without prompting. On one occasion there was great difficulty in paying out correctly a sum of about £8. 80 to workers for the Egyptian Irrigation Department owing to the names having been written down in Arabic by a writer unfamiliar with Shilluk names. After the main part had been eventually distributed through the District Commissioner's office there remained some £2. 10 unpaid. Many Shilluk refused to accept from the Irrigation Department sums written against their names declaring that it was more than they had earned. This sounds unlikely but it happened nevertheless.

577

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

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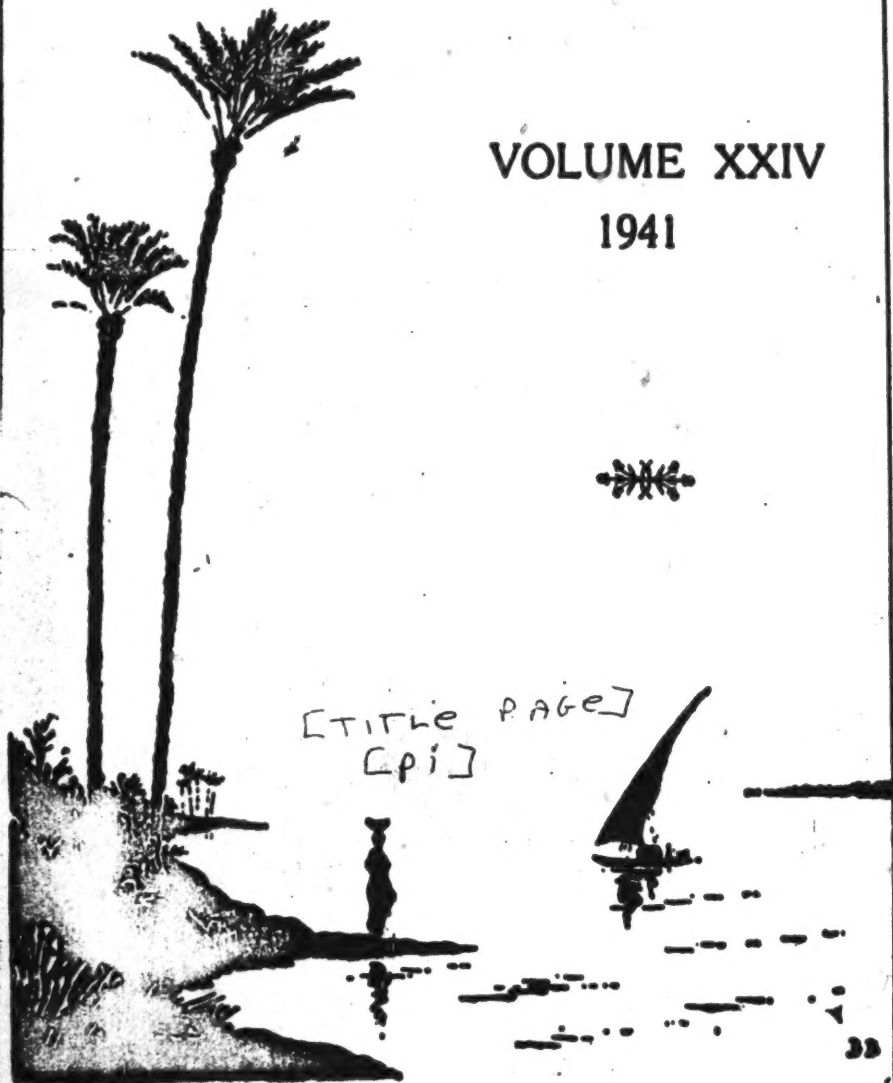
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VOLUME XXIV

1941



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SUDAN NOTES & RECORDS

FOUNDED 1918.

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THE SHILLUK SETTLEMENT.

By P. P. Howell.

The Shilluk word *Kwar* may be roughly translated as "clan" ⁶¹⁴ and refers to a group of persons who trace descent unilaterally and patrilineally to a common ancestor. They are bound by distinct rules of behaviour, by special and mutual observances and are exogamous. Literally the word *Kwar* means "descendants of" and often has no wider reference than the descendants of a relatively recent ancestor. The exact meaning may vary according to the context. The Shilluk tribe is divided into a number of traditionally recognised clans, the members of which consider themselves bound by ties of kinship, however remote, and although their feeling of corporate unity is much modified by the dissolution of territorial ties, they are still very vaguely clan conscious. In the distant past, in particular during the migration period, the clan was not associated with any particular tract of country, but the members moved from one place to another as a body and the intense feeling of mutual dependence was kept alive by proximity. Today the clan is widely scattered and there is no periodic reunion and the clan never meets or acts as an entity. Thus tradition alone remains ^[182] and with it the observance of exogamy which does more to maintain those traditions than any other factor.

As among many primitive peoples, the process of lineal segmentation and migration within the clan has long been a phenomenon of Shilluk society. The original clans—if it be possible to speak of clans as such—are now represented by a number of off-shoots resident in widely separated parts of the country. These off-shoots will hereafter be referred to as "lineages." It is natural that the members of one lineage are more closely bound to each other for they are not only more closely akin, but also in daily communication with each other. Nevertheless, the links which bind together the lineages of one whole clan are not yet wholly severed and after many generations of disintegration, the members still trace descent to a common ancestor. ^[613] ^[614]

613 The Shilluk, although he is conscious of his relationship to his widely scattered kinsmen, normally thinks in terms of his localised lineage. Thus in using the word *Kwar* he often refers to some comparatively recent ancestor, probably to the Shilluk who originally migrated to his settlement and founded his particular lineage. The emphasis here is upon the circumstances in which he is questioned.

613 614 Away from his settlement and speaking in tribal terms he will refer to the ancestor common to all his kinsmen, in more detailed family discussions to the founder of his lineage.

Every Shilluk is thus a member of a large and scattered kinship group. He is also a member of a local lineage and is bound to it by vigorous feelings of unity fostered by proximity and common interests.

621 In contrast he is also the inhabitant of a settlement (*Podh*) and common residence within it implies something more than a neighbourly spirit. Its occupants are not a mere collection of independent lineages, for they are united by social, economic and political obligations, by the need for mutual protection and have recognised rules of behaviour to one another.

361 484 182 578 The Shilluk are now a sedentary tribe, though they were originally nomads, and it has been said that their apparent political and social cohesion in contrast to many related peoples, has been partly due to the greater facility of communication. In fact their history has been one of frequent internal strife and dynastic quarrels, but it is true to say that in the rainy season, when normal communications are made difficult by the rising of the river level, they have always had an unrestricted medium of travel on the Nile itself and settlements are conveniently situated near to its banks. Shilluk villages are built in an almost continuous line along the west bank with a few scattered settlements on the east bank and on the lower reaches of the Sobat. This formation, however, means that they are dispersed over a very long area, and from Fashoda in the centre, it is a considerable journey to Tonga or Muomo. Taking Shilluk country as a long narrow strip, without including the inland pastures or hunting grounds, the density of population is undoubtedly far greater than among most Nilotic tribes in the Sudan, but the length of country between the centre and

THE SHILLUK SETTLEMENT

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the more distant settlements, owing to the length of the populated area, is not very much shorter. Most parts of Shilluk country are accessible to the inhabitants even when the water-courses and swamps are full, but travelling is not easy and social contact consequently less frequent in the rainy season. The result of such periodic inconvenience of communication and the length of inhabited country are twofold. In the first place, in the past at anyrate, the immediate power of the central authority the *Reth*, was slightly diminished and he was more dependent on the loyalty and competence of the settlement chiefs. Second, difficulty of communication increases the isolation of the settlement and intensifies the feeling of unity within it. Moreover, the clan, having no territorial basis, is put to a further disadvantage. The settlement thus gains importance socially, economically and politically in the structure of the tribe.

The formation of the settlement is based on a particular association of lineages and its structure can only be understood after a searching examination of their position. The fission of clan segments, individual enterprise and migration has been frequent for a very long period of Shilluk history. In each settlement there are therefore both indigenous elements and newcomers. Mr. Pumphrey has explained in outline the position and significance of the *Dyil*. They are fundamentally associated with the land they occupy, and theoretically they enjoy great prestige and authority. Among most primitive peoples the fixation of sentiment on land is bound up with human interests and those who are more closely bound to it acquire special functions and prerogatives not accorded to newcomers. Besides their ritual association with the land, the *Dyil* have obligations and observances of primary importance in the social machinery of their settlement and they form the centre round which internal political activities revolve. Subsequent accretions known in Shilluk as *Wadh* normally hold a position of political subservience to the *Dyil*. It must be emphasised here, that this implies no social inferiority; it merely means that the *Dyil* are expected to take the lead in matters of importance to all inhabitants of the settlement. The *Jago* is usually the chosen representative of the *Dyil* lineage and holds the *Law Dwong* of office. Mr. Pumphrey has pointed out that the *Dyil* are the descendants of the people who originally received grants of land from Nyikang. - [Amisyl]

554 this is not always true in practice, for the *Dyil* authority is frequently
613 usurped by a later but more numerous element, sometimes by a lineage
621 of the *Kwar Rath*. Even when this has occurred, the *Dyil* retain
some of their rights and their especial relation to the land is not forgotten. They appear to have prior right to speak at a meeting of the local court; "let the *Dyil* speak" is a common saying at a legal discussion. However, newcomers who have taken over the position of authority seek to establish a ritual and traditional background for the power and prestige they have acquired and it is a tendency among the Shilluk for these newcomers to claim and assume the title of *Dyil* even if they are not. For example, in the settlement of *Yom Dhoh-Alal* which is described in more detail below, the *Kwar Nyimol* have assumed the *Lau Duong* though they have no traditional right to it, and they claim rather unconvincingly that they are the *Dyil*. Actually there are many lineages who have been in occupation of the settlement for a much longer period. *Kwar Oring* is said to be the oldest and is now represented by a single old man who is blind and near the end of his life. He lives with his married daughter at *Adod*, the smallest and most insignificant of hamlets. Even *Kwar Oring* is not descended from the original and autochthonous element, for there were older lineages who have died out or migrated in a body to other parts of the country. This will be the fate of *Kwar Oring* after the death of the sole representative. Although recognised as the oldest resident lineage in *Yom Dhoh-Alal*, there is no evidence that they ever held both the title of *Dyil* and authority over the other lineages.

621 The dominant lineage which gains undisputed authority through
622 long association with the territory, or acquires the position through
613 numerical superiority, is thus collectively the nucleus of the settlement
182 round which other lineages group themselves. The *Jago*, their chosen
554 leader, is the most important, though not necessarily the eldest, representative of that lineage and he is also the chief of the settlement. He is indeed in the nature of a common bond between the inhabitants, for through him social and political equilibrium is maintained. It follows that the occupants of a settlement are bound together, not only by proximity and common interests, but by an attitude of obedience to the

THE SHILLUK SETTLEMENT

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chief and by their special relations with the lineage which holds authority over them. Thus there are social, political and economic influences backed by common residence which promote unity and emotional security, and patterns of behaviour arise entirely distinct from those which characterise the kinship group. 182 613 621 622 554

The balance of loyalty to settlement or to kin is difficult to define. The lineage resident in one locality is clearly the most significant unit of society. Blood relationship is closer and co-operation is intensified by daily contact and mutual interests. All the factors which make for peace and mutual help in the settlement are not sufficient to break the ties which unite the local lineage. Loyalty, obligations and observances are greater towards a blood relative who is also a neighbour than towards an individual who is a neighbour only. The corporate unity of the lineage is kept alive by kinship which is a biological fact and the observance of exogamy and all the complicated obligations raised in marriage do not allow the Shilluk to forget. The extended clan, however, in which relationship may be so remote as to be fictitious, is not cemented together by lasting and mutual interests, nor are old associations renewed by periodic reunion. Even so, the traditions of the clan are to some extent maintained and the rule of exogamy is not broken however scattered its members. 613 621 571 614

The Shilluk settlement consists of a number of hamlets *Myer*, (*Pl of Pac.*) each occupied by a lineage. The settlement has a varying number of distinct lineages resident therein, but each hamlet is exclusively occupied by a kinship group. Each hamlet is a separate cluster of huts which are built along the high ground parallel to the river bank. The distance between each varies from a hundred yards to a mile or so. The hamlet is not constant in the number of its huts and grows or diminishes in size according to the increase or decrease in numbers of the lineage which occupies it. Mr. Pumphrey has explained that off-shoots from hamlets are continually being initiated by entering young Shilluk who, having married, wish to build a home for themselves away from the parent hamlet. Sometimes these off-shoots (*Nyole Myer*) are started in other parts of the country, more usually within the settlement and not far from the birth-place of their founder. 613 621 361 621 541 361 621

361 A new hamlet thus founded may remain a single homestead of no great
621 importance in the life of the lineage and none at all in the structure
of the settlement. On the other hand the young man who thus
breaks away from the hamlet of his birth and up-bringing may prosper
and acquire many wives. In this case the off-shoot will develop
with rapidity and after three generations may be as large as the
parent village. Other kinsmen may join and swell the number of
homesteads.

The Shilluk word for hamlet is *Pac* and has two meanings: truly
a *Pac* is a hamlet founded by the original immigrant to the settlement
where it is situated. Subsequent offshoots are, however, technically
included under the name of the central hamlet from which they spring.
Pa Kwar Ajang may thus refer to the original hamlet founded by *Ajang*.
After a few generations the number of associated hamlets and the
number of *Nyole Myer* may be considerable, and *Pa Kwar Ajang*
may be used to designate them collectively. Under normal conditions,
probably after three generations, but depending entirely on the increase
of progeny, and the number of homesteads built by descendants, the
offshoot will acquire a separate name and in every day conversation
will not be included under the title of the original hamlet. Hamlet
names among the Shilluk may or may not have the prefix *Pac* or *Pa*.¹

103 *Pa Kwar Ding* means the hamlet of *Ding's* descendants. Others have
361 no prefix and the etymological explanation is often hard to find.
621 Some at least have purely descriptive names. Thus *Pan Thin*
means the little hamlet and *Panowak* refers to a hamlet situated near
the bush. In the settlement of *Yoin Dhok Alal*, those hamlets recently
built on the north side of the water-course retain the same name as
[63] their parent hamlets and indeed are not distinguished from them.
Their inhabitants have not gained sufficient numbers or prestige to be
regarded as a distinct section of their lineage.

361 A more detailed examination and analysis of the structure and
621 development of a Shilluk settlement necessitates the use of an example.

[194] 1. The letters P and F are interchangeable in Shilluk. Thus *Pacoda* = *Facoda* (*Fashoda*).

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For this purpose *Podh Yom Dhok-Alal* has been chosen and in particular *Kwar Nyimol* which is the dominant clan lineage within it. *Yom* is very vaguely differentiated from *Dhok-Alal*, but the distinction is not a real one and the two are considered as one settlement. It seems that the *Kwar Nyimol* originally settled in the latter area and gradually spread to *Yom*. It is possible that in the past the two territories were entirely unconnected, but that the members of *Kwar Nyimol* increased rapidly, dominated the other lineages living there and extended their sphere of influence in such a way as to incorporate *Yom*. If this is so it provides an excellent illustration of the way in which the structure and boundaries of a settlement may change with the development and movements of the occupants.

In the map of the settlement it will be seen that there are twenty, five hamlets, not including the off shoots who have no separate names- of which sixteen are occupied by members of *Kwar Nyimol*, four by *Kwar Dong*, one by *Kwar Muol*, one by *Kwar Oring* (almost extinct), one by *Kwar Turo*, and one by *Kwar Godh*. It is clear that *Kwar Nyimol* are the most important and hold their position by numerical superiority if by nothing else. *Kwar Dong* are the next largest in numbers of hamlets, while the others have but one hamlet each. It might be supposed that since *Kwar Nyimol* is numerically by far the largest lineage, it is also the oldest in the settlement. There is, however, conclusive evidence that most of the other lineages occupied the area long before the arrival of *Pyem* who founded *Debalo*, the original hamlet of *Kwar Nyimol*. Most of the other lineages have priority of claim to the title *Dyil*. Disease, war, fission and migration have caused a decrease in their numbers over a long period.

Kwar Nyimol are *Ororo*,² but since there does not seem to be any exception in their case, the example illustrates both the pattern of segmentation with a settlement of the various lineages of a clan and the growth of a *Wedh* lineage which has outnumbered the *Dyil* and assumed the *Lau Dwong*. The exactitude of the genealogical list shown on page 67 cannot be vouched for. It is as the *Kwar Nyimol*

2. The special status of the *Ororo* is explained by Mr. Pamphrey (page 12).

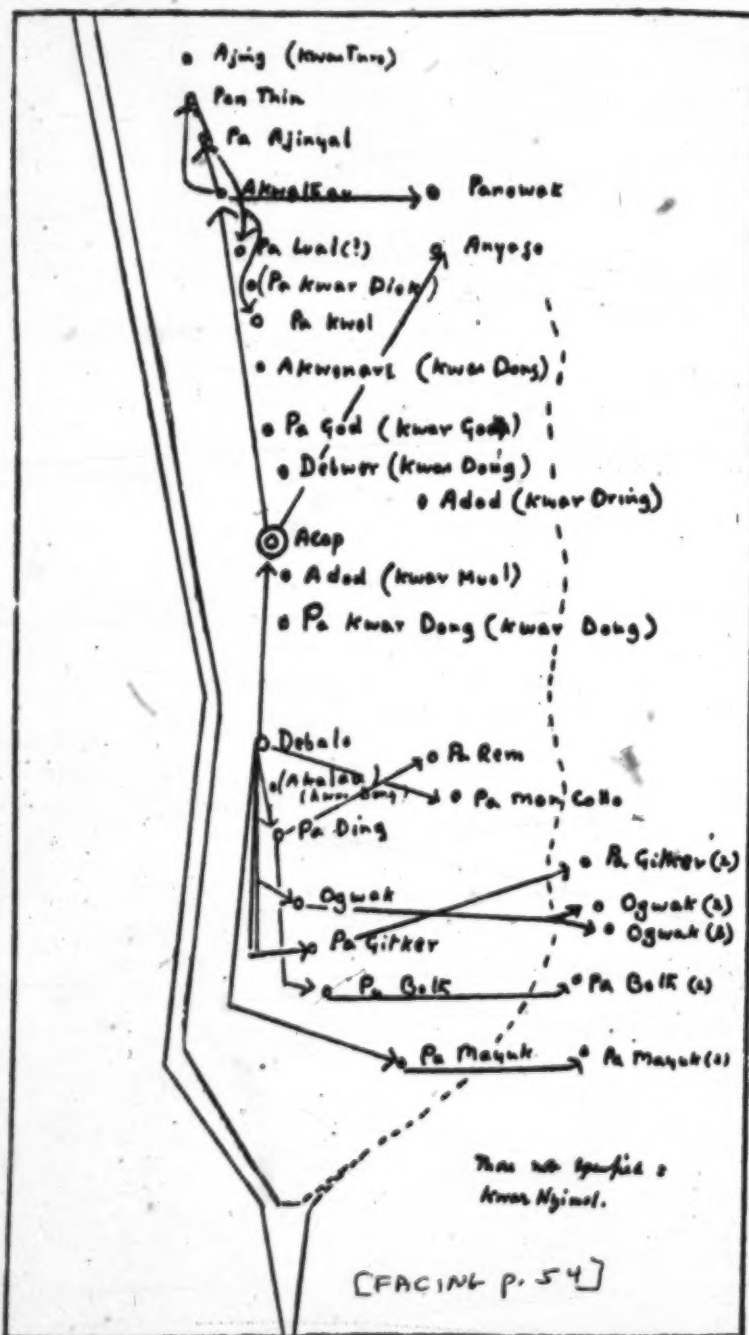
[see Pamphrey, this file. -Analysis]

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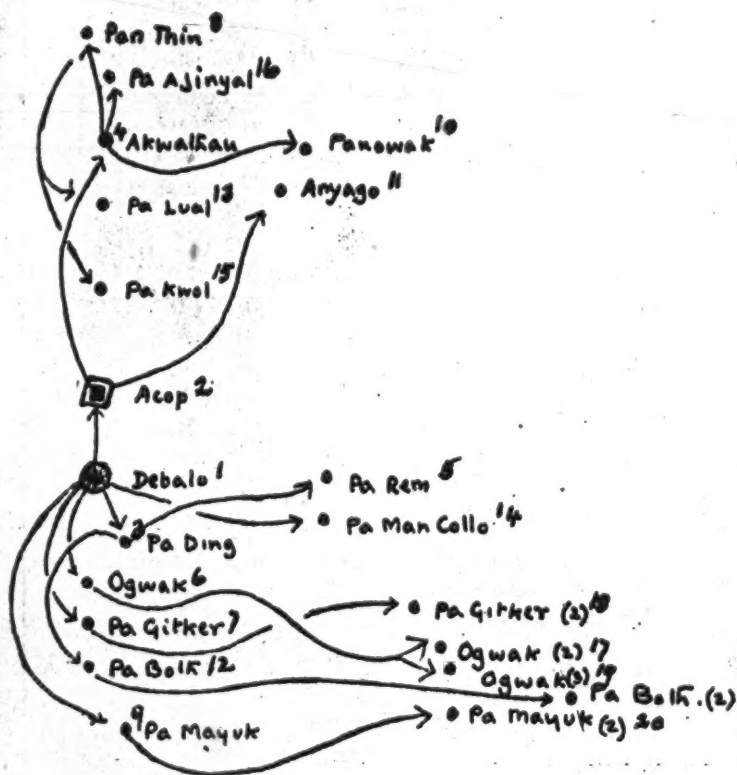


[124]
[613] recite it, but in any case it is given as an illustration of the process of
[621] fission and the development of offshoots typical to any Shilluk clan
lineage and might well be done in figures only. *Debalo*, founded by
[173] *Pyem* who was reduced to the status of *Ororo* from the *Kwar Reth*,
[565] was the first hamlet to be founded. *Pyem* had three grandsons, one
of whom, *Odhek*, migrated to a spot a few hundred yards away, in the
direction of *Tonga*, and there founded *Acop*. *Acop* is now the central
and most important hamlet in the settlement and is the home of *Jago*
Amsileh who holds the *Lau Dwong* of the settlement and indeed the
whole of *Tonga*.

There is no apparent reason why *Debalo* should cease to be the
most important village, but the leadership of the *Kwar Nyimol* has
for some time been in that branch of the lineage who occupy *Acop*.
[622] The *Lau Dwong* is not necessarily inherited by an eldest son, or by a
[128] son resident in his father's hamlet. There are no rules of primogeniture
and the choice was made with the approval of all members of the lineage.
[613] Even other lineages have some say in the matter and the appointment
[613] must be confirmed by the *Reth*. Accession to the title of *Jago* is
thus controlled by the personality, prestige and competence of the
claimant. *Acop* has been the seat of the *Jago* at least for the last three
[621] generations. *Debalo* and *Acop* are the parent hamlets of two separate
[361] lines of segmentation. From *Debalo* sprang all the hamlets situated to
the east, while from *Acop*, which was itself founded from *Debalo*,
sprang the hamlets in *Yom* stretching towards *Tonga*. The process
[613] of fission which can be traced on the genealogical chart is substantiated
by many members of *Kwar Nyimol*.

The smaller hamlets which lie beyond the water-course behind
Dhok Alal, provide more recent examples of this breaking away of
individuals and the foundation of new hamlets. They have not yet
grown large enough to acquire a separate entity and they are still
considered part of their parent hamlets. *Pa Gither* remains one home-
stead only, while its extension though more recent is larger. *Pa Gither*
sprang from *Debalo*. In the case of *Pa Mayuh*, *Ohwano* the son of

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Amayku's nephews founded a hamlet across the water-course but is now dead and left no sons. In this example the offshoot has come to nothing. *Pa Ding* also, from which sprang *Pa Rem* and *Pa Both* and which is of long standing, is now disintegrating. Its occupants have not been prolific and there have been too many offshoots for it to remain undiminished. It is now occupied by one man only. *Ogwak* on the other hand is flourishing and has two well-established offshoots. Thus hamlets are founded and in some cases prosper and the inhabitants increase in number. The founder is often joined by a brother or collateral relative and later the occupants may not be the direct descendants of the founder⁴. In other instances those long-established disintegrate and are sometimes abandoned altogether. The settlement is never a static formation but a dynamic and changing association of lineages, who split up among themselves within the boundaries or send out offshoots to settle in other parts of the country. Latterly, however, there has been a tendency towards stabilization. In the past, the settlement was only a loose alliance of local branches of the clan, similar in construction and significance to the larger divisions of the tribe. However, the limited size of the area and constant contact have produced an integral unit of the social body bound by something more than a vague tradition of military co-operation. The inhabitants of a settlement live in close proximity, gave legal and economic interests in common and look to their chief to represent their collective grievances in the affairs of the tribe. A mutual protection pact is, however, the basis on which they are grouped together and in this connection it is necessary to give some account of the age-sets into which they are organized.

4. In *Dhok Alal* it is interesting to note that in at least three cases hamlets have been founded by the husbands of female members of the lineage. Thus *Pa Man Collo* was started by the husband of the daughter of *Adulung*. The daughter of *Kukwei* married into some other clan and left the territory, but her son returned to found *Pa Luai*. The daughter of *Githor* married a man from *Ayigo* and together they settled in *Dhok Alal* and their hamlet is considered an extension of *Pa Githor*. In a few cases the Shilluk settle matrilocally as in the case of *Adulung's* grandson. Often the descendants of a man who has settled in his wife's home seem to trace descent matrilineally, and will often mention the name of their mother's father, if asked their lineage, rather than a forbear in the paternal line. This is a legal fiction of convenient usage and is not technically recognised. The test of exogamy does not apply for a man would not seek to marry into his mother's lineage, but it is a claim which provides protection and added prestige to the individual who lives in close proximity to his mother's kinsmen.

THE AGE-SET SYSTEM.

561 The age-grade⁵ organization is a system of compulsory associations based on classifications of age and sex. In structure it is usually tribal, in outlook and political function essentially democratic. Among the [621] Shilluk, however, age-sets are recruited within the local group or settlement and have no connection beyond similarity of form and function, with age-sets recruited in other settlements. As will be seen, the role which the organization plays in tribal and settlement life is very limited, and is confined to specific military purposes.

It has been stated by some authorities that the age-set system is entirely lacking among the Shilluk or that it has broken down beyond recognition⁶. This would not be surprising, for the organization of a 182 group into parallel associations based on age and sex, for political 561 purposes at any rate, is almost incompatible with an autocratic political 643 system. It must be remembered that although the concept of monarchy [170] among the Shilluk has not reached the same level as in the Lakustrine Bantu kingdoms or certain other Bantu tribes, it is more developed 182 than among most kindred Nilotics. The age-set system necessarily cuts 561 across the bonds of consanguinity, and, without severe modifications of 614

5. See distinction between "age-set" and "age-grade" as followed by Prof. Radcliffe-Brown and quoted by E. E. Evans-Pritchard in *The Nuer: Age-sets*—Sudan Notes and Records Vol. xix pp. 233-234. Doctor Evans-Pritchard also refers to "Age-set" system rather than "Age-grade" system and since this is a more accurate description his terminology is followed below.

6. Hofmayer (Wilhelm Hofmayer "*Die Shilluk. Geschichte, Religion und Leben Ein Niloten-stammes*," 1923) does not mention age-grades specifically, but with reference to initiation and warfare he mentions the existence of such an organization.

"Every man is a soldier and literally always under arms. Every Shilluk who has ceremonially danced is a warrior as long as he is able to bear arms. They form groups. Every settlement is independent with its own *Bany* (principle singer and president). Different settlements combine and sally forth under the leadership of the eldest *Bany* against their powerful enemies. The *Bany* has only advisory powers and is chosen by the chiefs of the district. Unmarried youths form what corresponds to our permanent army, which is divided according to age and has many names."

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social and political function, cannot exist in a society where authority is held by virtue of blood. Further it is likely to raise ties and mutual obligations which conflict with those patterns of behaviour which unite the members of a clan. Usually, when the age-set system is highly developed, the clan system is weakened. The reverse may also be true, and since the kinship groups within the Shilluk settlement retain their distinction, the age-set system is of no great social significance. This is particularly so with regard to political matters. The *Jago* and the elders of the *Dyil* clan and a limited number of representatives from the less powerful lineages hold political authority in the settlement, and over them is the theoretical omnipotence of the *Reth*.

The group solidarity of the settlement springs from the power and prerogative of the *Dyil* clan and from common interests and territorial proximity. The compulsory association and stratification of all male members of the settlement emphasises that feeling of solidarity, but does not conflict with the political function of the *Dyil* clan, for its purpose is limited to warfare. In inter-lineage disputes within the boundaries of the settlement the organization does not function, but in warfare on a wider scale when the separate lineages must fight as one, the young men and warriors are mobilized into age-sets.

Every male inhabitant of a settlement, on reaching the age of puberty, is automatically grouped with his coevals and together they are recruited to the most recently formed age-set. Each age-set, known in Shilluk as *Ric*, is made up of a series of sub-divisions which are grouped together temporarily until a new reorganization is made. There are two grades through which the members of an age-set will pass before retiring from active military service. Recruitment is compulsory and never individual.

The general structure of the organization is best explained diagrammatically.

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The figure below shows the two age-sets occupying the two active military grades through which each must pass in turn.

GRADE	Sub-division	AGE SET
	I	
		
I	2	A
		
	3	

	I	
		
2	2	B
		
	3	

	4	
		

Each age-set has three or more subdivisions — 1, 2, 3 etc., which are made up of those who are approximately of the same age and who have herded cattle together as boys. The members of age-set A are married men and probably the fathers of families. The age-set is static and new sub-divisions do not reach that grade until a new and formal division between the two age-sets is made. Age-set B, however, is continually increasing in number as new sub-divisions are formed. The number of individuals in each sub-division will vary and the rapidity with which new sub-divisions are formed is not constant. After an indefinite period age-set B will be too large for practical purposes and very much larger than A. Moreover, the older sub-divisions of A will

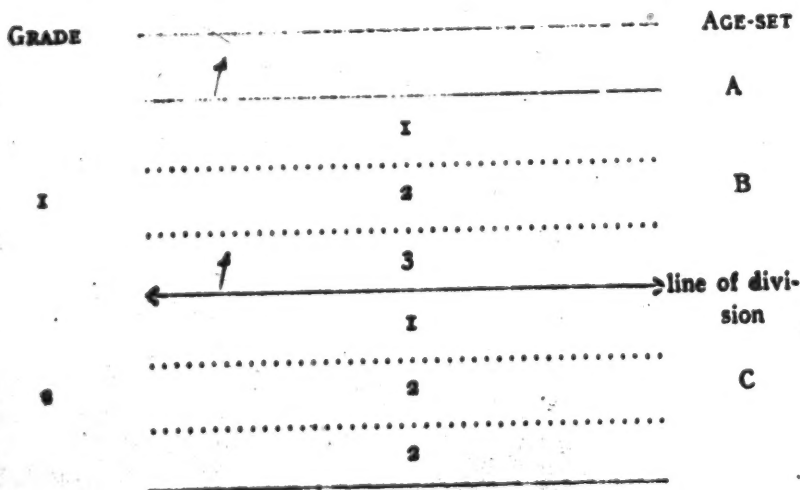
THE SHILLUK SETTLEMENT

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be getting too old for active military service. Many may already be dead. The organisation has thus reached an unbalanced and unwieldy stage and a new division must be made. 561

It is not clear on whom the decision rests but it is usually the warriors of the younger age-set who initiate the suggestion that a reshuffling takes place. They are anxious to take over the duties and prerogatives of their elders. Some informants state that any man of outstanding personality of the lower age-set could suggest himself as a new war-leader or 'Ban' and on his initiative, as representative of the younger age-set which is anxious for promotion, a division would be made.

The Ngol or "Cutting" ceremony then takes place and the sub-divisions are reorganized into two age-sets, while the members of age-set A pass out into retirement. Age-set B is in fact divided into two, so that they are approximately equal in numbers.



In this figure the division has been made between sub-divisions 3 and 4 of age-set B. Sub-divisions remain undivided internally and the individual Shilluk remains a member of the sub-division he originally

- 561 joined, whatever the new formation may be. The regrouping of sub-divisions is often the subject of heated controversy, particularly between
 561 the two sub-divisions who will be separated by the new line of distinction.
 578 It is apparently preferable to remain the highest sub-division of the newly formed lower age-set and thereby acquire special privileges and duties. At the last *Ngol* ceremony held in the settlement of *Yom Dok Alal*, the two sub-divisions between whom the distinction was to be made actually came to blows. The age-set A, having retired, participates no longer in warfare nor in the ceremonies associated with the organization.

The sub-divisions of any age-set are known in Shilluk as "head," "neck" and "middle" respectively. Thus while the "head," "neck" and "middle" sub-divisions of B occupy the same position in a new status, the two or three sub-divisions below them are "head," "neck" and "middle" of C. On ceremonial occasions when the
 561 age-sets function as such, the highest age-set is privileged to eat the
 574 back and chest of any animal provided, while the lower will eat of the
 264 hump and legs only. This division of meat is rigidly observed and any infringement is severely punished. This rule is particularly enforced at the *Ngol* when a bull is slaughtered and ceremonially divided and eaten—to emphasise the newly acquired privileges of the age-set in the higher status.

- 561 After this the newly appointed *Bañ* who will be war-leader of the senior age-set, is formally elected and is carried jubilantly round the settlement on the shoulders of his age-mates. Frequently this procession enters the territory of another settlement, the boasts of the
 [678] younger warriors bring out the young men of the neighbouring district, and fighting occurs.

The *Bañ* has no administrative or political functions and has no connection with the *Jago* of the settlement. It is his duty to organize
 [574] mobilization and to preside at communal feasts at which the age-sets assemble. According to some informants he is assisted in the cultivation
 [474] of his fields by his age-mates.

- [726] After the ceremony is over, each age-set is given a new name, usually taken from some current event or from the colour of the bull

THE SHILLUK SETTLEMENT

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slaughtered at the *Ngol*. This name is shouted when entering battle, though there are other war-cries associated with each age-set. 561
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Among the Shilluk there are no elaborate and prolonged *rites de passage* through which the youths acquire manhood status and there are no separate ceremonies associated with their recruitment to an age-set. The final act of initiation is participation in a *Cong Bul*, or dance, and the preparations required to do so. The *Cong Bul* is purely a social dance which is arranged from time to time by permission of the *Jago* of the settlement and has no basic religious significance associated with change of status or with age-sets. It is not in itself a ceremony of initiation. To the young boy, then, to dance for the first time is merely a qualificatory rite by which he is recognised in his adult status—a symbol of reintegration to the community after a short period of segregation. Previous to his first dance, he is subject to certain restrictions. He may not fight with spears, nor take part in large-scale warfare or extra-tribal raids. He may not take part in any dances save in the moonlight festivities held by young people only. Further he is not allowed to wear certain kinds of clothing and ornaments, notably large necklaces of giraffe-hair, ostrich-egg beads, and cat skins and he may not adorn his hair with mud. A breach of conduct would be met with bitter ridicule, particularly by the girls, and no youth would dare to disregard the warning of his elders. All these restrictions and many more are removed at the time of the first *Cong Bul* attended by the initiate and indeed are noticeably broken at the ceremony itself. The initiates wear the forbidden ornaments and carry spears. 881
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[622]
[626]
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Normally three or four boys from the same settlement are initiated together, but several of such batches may undergo the transitional rites in one year. Participation in his first *Cong* usually occurs when the boy is from fourteen to sixteen, but a youth may undergo the rites at an earlier age, if his father is dead and it is necessary to accelerate his change of status so that he can represent his family—especially if he has no elder brothers. When a youth has obtained his father's permission to undergo initiation, he acquires the necessary ostrich-egg beads and cat-skin and takes these to a man who is appointed his sponsor. The qualification for such a tutorial position is apparently popularity

881 with girls. This man ceremonially ties on the youths dancing ornaments before he enters the dance and accompanies him to the dancing ground.

On the morning of the *Cong*, the candidate is taken with his companions to an *Ajwogo* or priest who performs certain rites with them before they continue on their way to the gathering. On their arrival at the village where the *Cong* is being held, the initiates form up two abreast and remain in the charge of their sponsor until the actual dancing begins. After this they enter the dance in the normal way, joining the ranks of the warriors who have certain acts of politeness to the *Jago* to perform before they are chosen as partners by the girls.

535 The *Cong* takes place about four o'clock in the afternoon when
881 the heat is less oppressive and the population of the district has finished work in the fields. The drum (often two, "*Bul Dwong*" and "*Bul*

[534] *Thin*") is placed on a wooden structure in the centre of the village. The drummer begins to call the local inhabitants together long before any dancing is due to take place and beats furiously on the drum at varying intervals. Women and those who are too old to dance assemble round the huts, gossiping and drinking merissa with the occupants.

[554] The important men of the settlement, the *Jah* and their assistants and a few of the most respected elders assemble near to the hut of the *Jago* who offers them refreshment and tobacco. Meanwhile the warriors arrive in small batches, and stand outside the village. The normal

[241] "*Lan*" of cloth is discarded and they put on skins fastened from their waists and ornament themselves with their special dancing beads and

[411] ashes. They carry with them their best spears, but not the fighting shield, for the *Cong* has no military associations. Some have small

[714] shields of hippo or crocodile skin make in miniature imitation of the heavy war shield, but the majority carry parrying-sticks or "stick-shields." Some wear strings of small bells wound crosswise round

[301] their legs.

When the final touches have been put to their clothing, small groups of warriors enter the dancing ground in the centre of the village, shouting as they come. They shamle and jump round the drum and then disperse in small groups, while other warriors are assembling. When large groups have collected, after more salutations to the drum,

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THE DANCE IN PROGRESS.

[P.62A]

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SUDAN NOTES AND RECORDS.

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WARRIORS SALUTE THE DRUM.

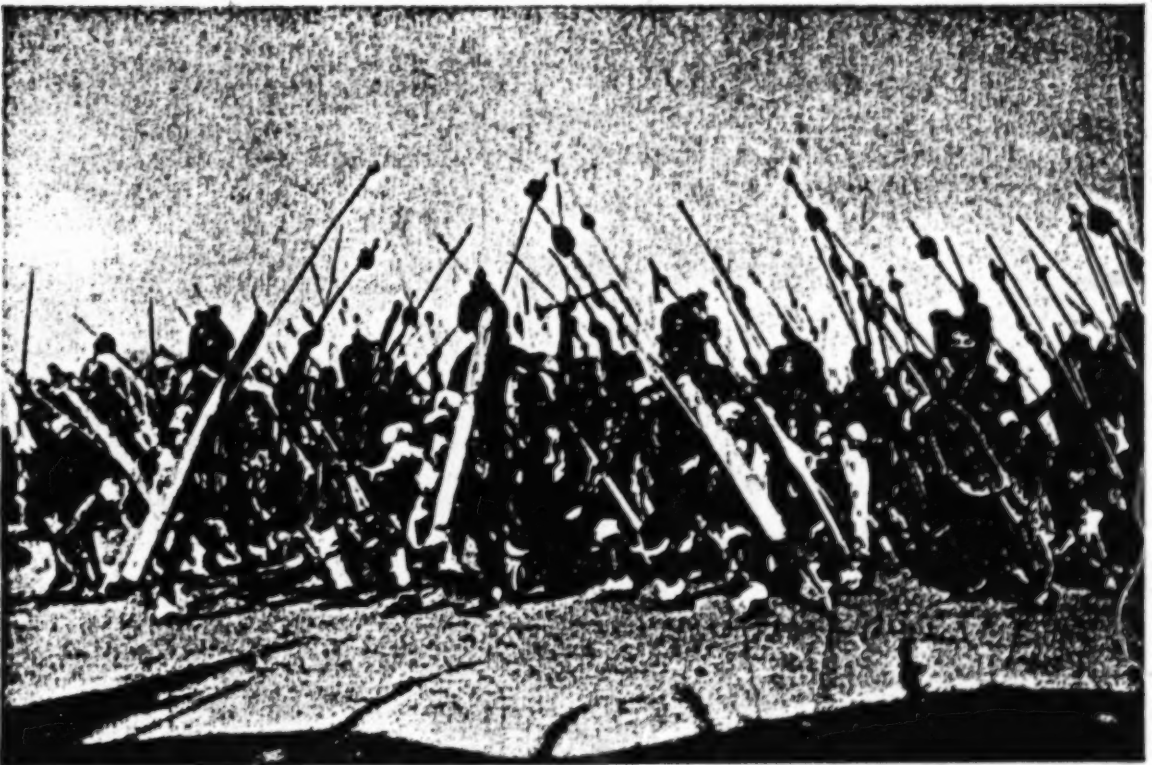
[p.62B]

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SUPAN NOTES AND RECORDS.

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WARRIORS SALUTE THE CHIEF.

[p. 62 c]

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they advance in formation towards the *Jago's* hut, quicker and quicker until in a wild rush they fling themselves as one body before the chief. When all the warriors have saluted the *Jago*, they retire for further rearrangement of their dress and this time they put away their spears. Armed with sticks and small shields only, they form a circle, two abreast round the drum. The girls now appear on the dancing-ground, and in two's or three's wander round the circle of waiting men, choosing their partners by a point of the hand or a discreet nod of the head. The choice of a partner is entirely the prerogative of the girl and the man has no say in the matter. He cannot refuse. It is a point of honour to the initiate that he should be chosen by some girl, for to dance with a girl is part of the ceremony and if ignored he would be the subject of many sarcastic witticisms afterwards. 535 881

Warriors and their partners then arrange themselves in groups of eight or ten, the men two abreast facing the girls who always dance backwards. In the actual dance, these groups advance anti-clockwise, hopping on both legs in time to rhythm. The head is held erect, the men with their arms flexed, holding in one hand a dancing stick, while the girls dance with their hands at their sides. There is no variation of this formation, other than an occasional raising of the hands above the head by the group as a whole.

While the dance is proceeding, the audience is entertained further by various individuals who greatly to their own enjoyment imitate animals or individuals of neighbouring tribes. The Shilluk are born mimers and every conceivable trick is devised. Thus at one *Cong*, the on-lookers were amused to see the arrival of a wild and unruly bull accompanied by two exasperated herdsmen who eventually succeeded in lassoing it, after it had charged and scattered the crowd. In another corner a hyena was craftily dragging away an old mat representing the corpse of a goat. Current events are also acted and although the side-shows have no connection with the *Cong Bul* itself, they are very popular with the guests and those who are clever at miming enjoy great prestige. 535 536 881 [554]

The *Cong Bul* lasts for about two hours. Shortly before sunset the drum ceases to beat in rhythm and the exhausted dancers hastily 535 881

535 leave the dancing ground. Within a few minutes the village is clear
881 of all guests, those who are unable to stand being swept along in the
rush.

881 Before dancing for the first time the initiate is usually presented
431 with two spears by his father. The sons of rich men are presented
with a bull (*Wakh Owono*) as well.⁸ This bull is treated with great care
[553] and affection by the young warrior and he is given a new name by
his age-mates—taken from the colour of the bull and they alone may
call him so. Theoretically the bull is kept throughout his life, a new
[583] one of similar colour and markings being substituted when it dies.
It is never given as bride-wealth. The initiates then visit their relatives
881 in the settlement and after a short period of travel return home. In
574 the past these visits were probably on a wider scale and according to
Hofmayer "after the dance it is the custom for the Shilluk initiates
[114] to lead a nomadic life for a time, traversing the country from one end
[171] to the other." This statement is probably an exaggeration, but a
period of wandering visits is common among African peoples before
final reintegration into the community in adult status.

535 At the *Cong Bul*, initiates are introduced to their new privileges
together, but the rest of the warriors are not drawn up in age-sets.
764 At the "*Kwogo*" and "*Yok*," which are funeral ceremonies, the male
881 Shilluk are organized according to their respective age-sets. There
561 are few other occasions when the age-set system functions at all.

476 Among the Shilluk the more arduous processes of cultivation are
561 carried out communally. A man will invite his neighbours and relatives
to help him in his fields and will provide merissa for them afterwards.
The helpers are not necessarily his age-mates and it does not appear

[178] 8. The Shilluk say that the custom is dying out and that few fathers have bulls
to spare. In any case the youth will take the name of one of his father's bulls. The
Wakh Owono is a source of great pride to its owner and songs are composed about it which
are sung for the benefit of girls.

An approximate translation of the song of Ajak, an inhabitant of the Zeraf mouth is
as follows:

"I have a grey bull, a great bull,
I am going to Golluain to buy a bell,
A bell for the bull that lives in
My fathers byre."

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to be their duty to aid him. The arrangement is merely reciprocal. 561
 At the beer feast afterwards, however, the guests are arranged according 476
 to their respective sub-divisions. The two senior sub-divisions present 561
 enter the hut of their host before the others and it is their privilege 574
 to taste the beer first and approve it. They remain in the hut for
 sometime for they have had an exhausting day in the fields and are
 thirsty. Outside the hut in the courtyard are grouped the lower sub-
 divisions, eagerly awaiting their share which is passed out to them when
 those inside are satisfied with the quality of the beer. Possibly another
 sub-division is then allowed to enter the hut if there is room at the
 back.

The sub-divisions are grouped inside the hut in ascending order
 of seniority and the leader of the senior sub-division present, (*Pagy*)
 sits near the door. The *Pagy* has a special gourd which is kept full [264]
 of beer by the man next him. Etiquette is rigidly observed and every-
 one is careful to sit in the right place and take his turn at the beer. [560]
 No women are present except the host's wife or wives who sit at the [533]
 back and serve the beer. Every age-set has its own song and this
 is sung by those inside the hut while the young men outside take up
 the chorus.

The existence within the settlement of organized age-sets limited 561
 by territorial boundaries is a factor which should ensure co-ordination 571
 and peace between the different lineages. The Shilluk say that age- 578
 mates will not fight each other. In fact this is an exaggeration for
 the sense of loyalty and mutual obligation between age-mates is not
 constant or strong. The reason for this is the rarity of occasions in
 which the age-set organization functions to-day and the very limited
 purpose to which it is put. In reality, mutual ties and observances
 practiced by age-mates are quite outside the deeper and more per-
 manent ties of kinship and the Shilluk is not bothered by perpetually
 conflicting emotions. The age-sets do not operate as such until all
 lineages are bound together by a common cause apart from and in a
 different context to internal bickerings which are not infrequent.

Political authority is not now derived from the age-set system. 554
 but from the powerful position in the settlement of the dominant lineage. 613
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561 Leadership in war however, is, dependent upon the collective vote
 182 of the age-sets, and this perhaps provides a clue to the origin and former
 701 purpose of the settlement; namely the necessity of alliance under the
 726 threat of war. The local kinship group, split-off from the main branch
 621 of the clan is not a sufficiently powerful body to defend itself against
 [613] attack. So lineages, resident in the same part of the country, join
 together and possibly link themselves to some numerically superior
 group. Mutual protection is thus made possible. The strongest
 561 lineage of the group later assumes political authority and a chief is
 701 chosen from its members, but for the purpose which the alliance was
 originally made, the warriors range themselves in ranks where kinship
 counts for nothing. A war-leader is elected and not necessarily from
 the dominant lineage. This is not, of course, the origin of the age-set
 162 system, but it may account for the form it has taken among the Shilluk.
 561 Latterly, when large-scale warfare is comparatively rare, the original
 721 purpose of the alliance is disappearing and with it the motive for
 the age-set system. A period of proximity, common political and
 621 economic interests, however, have caused the separate lineages to
 regard themselves united by social ties and patterns of behaviour
 more lasting than those raised by a temporary alliance. The settlement
 thus becomes an integral unit of the social body.

174 2. The larger territorial divisions of the tribe, the *Loak*, which are described in
 726 Mr. Pamphrey's article, originated in the same way as the settlements. The inhabitants
 of each division made a temporary pact when a common cause arose. It is therefore
 likely that age-sets in the past covered a larger section of the population than they do to-
 day when each age-set is confined to the inhabitants of one settlement. The Shilluk are
 reticent when questioned on the subject and further investigation is necessary before a
 full account of the age-set system among the Shilluk can be recorded.

Lineages of the Podh Yom Dok-Alal.

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